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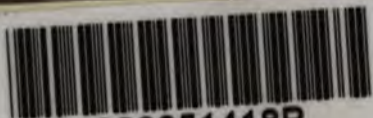
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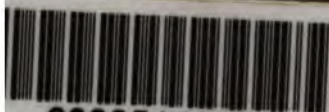




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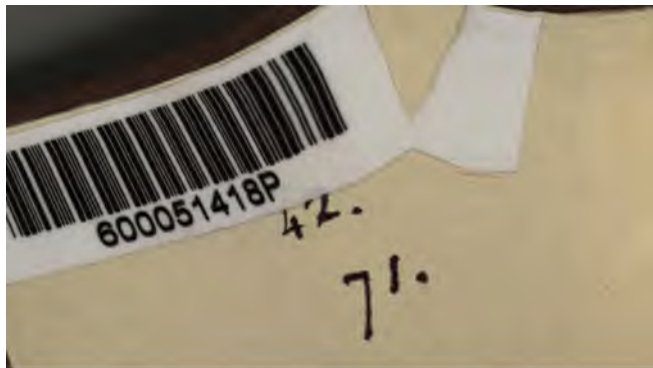
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From the Editor—
1843

A SOBER INQUIRY;

OR,

Christ's Reign

WITH HIS SAINTS A THOUSAND YEARS MODESTLY
ASSERTED FROM SCRIPTURE;

TOGETHER

WITH THE ANSWER OF MOST OF THOSE ORDINARY OBJECTIONS
WHICH ARE USUALLY URGED TO THE CONTRARY.

"Prove all things: hold fast that which is good."—1 Thess. v. 21.

Second Edition.

FIRST PRINTED IN THE YEAR 1660:

NOW REPRINTED, WITH AN ADVERTISEMENT

BY THE

REV. EDWARD BICKERSTETH,

RECTOR OF WATTON, HERTS.

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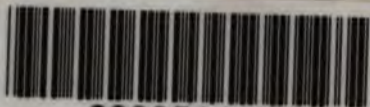
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ADVERTISEMENT.

THIS book, first published in 1660, in 18mo, is so scarce, that it is not known that any copy exists except the one in the library of Lord Viscount Mandeville, from which the present is reprinted. It is written in a truly good spirit, and contains many just, seasonable, and valuable remarks on the subject on which it treats. Unwilling, therefore, that it should be lost, I have pleasure in its being reprinted; and for this purpose have agreed to the request of the Publisher to prefix this advertisement. Nothing is known of the author beyond the initials of his name, "I. F." May the blessed hope of the glorious appearing of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ be largely revived among all Christians, so that we may all be looking and waiting for His return and kingdom! (Titus ii. 13.)

EDWARD BICKERSTETH.

WATTON RECTORY,
July 2, 1842.



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fore; yet have I been as brief as well I could: I have left out much that might be said; I hope nothing is said that may be justly offensive to any. I am very plain and familiar in speech, for I thought that might be advantageous to the subject, and not displease. I am not covetous to urge my faith upon any, only willing to give you an account of the publication of this small piece. If you say it is not worthy the light, I confess I always thought so; yet I submitted to those that were of another opinion, and at this time you are entreated to do so too. And let me beg one thing at your hands, viz. not to think that I differ more from many godly learned divines then indeed I do. Some agree with me, some do not; those that do not, differ not so much as you (it may be) may think. The agreement and difference lies thus:—

1. We are all agreed that Jesus Christ will come personally, corporally, and visibly, from heaven to earth at the day of judgment. So he ascended, therefore so he shall descend, as we have it, Acts i. 11. So Job xix. 25: "He shall stand at the latter day on the earth." In this, I think, we are all agreed.

2. We are all, I think, agreed, that when Christ thus comes, he will bring with him the souls of all his saints, according to that, Zech. xiv. 5: "The Lord my God shall come, and all his saints with thee." 1 Thess. iii. 13: "At the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ with all his saints."

3. We all agree, that their bodies shall be immediately raised out of their graves, and the soul and body joined and united together; and that though

the soul continues, remains, and is in heaven, without the body, yet on earth it shall not be so.

4. We all agree, that when it is thus raised, it is raised in glory. 1 Cor. xv. 42: "In incorruption, in power, a spiritual body." Col. iii. 4: "When Christ, who is our life, shall appear, then shall ye also appear with him in glory:" not thenceforth subject any more to sin or sorrow; to mutation or mortality, to the want of meat, or drink, or clothing, or houses, or marriage, or any other comfort, but shall be as the angels, Matt. xxii. 30.

5. We all, I think, agree further, that this resurrection of the saints shall be some time before the resurrection of the wicked; that they shall have the pre-eminence, and be the first in order and time (I say nothing now how long); but all agree they shall be first, and the wicked shall not rise till some time (less or more) afterward. See 1 Cor. xv. 23, 24; 1 Thess. iv. 16: "The dead in Christ shall rise first." Rev. xx. 4, 5, 6.

6. We all agree, also, that the Lord Jesus Christ will be some time in judging the world; that he will not huddle all over in a moment, but he will make some stay on the earth; and that, as (though he hath no need of time) he took a space of time in creating the world, so he will take some space of time on earth to do what he will then do, viz. besides the question in hand, to judge and conclude all things in.

7. And all of us, I think, are agreed in this also, that while Christ stays on the earth (let it be longer or lesser time), the saints also must stay, and not go

to heaven, from the earth, until Christ goes, and carries them up with him.

8. And all will grant that it must needs be a very glorious time, while it lasts, when Christ shall have removed his court from heaven to earth, and be in his glory, attended with angels, environed with all his saints, who are also all of them in their glory. O! how can such a time be (while it lasts) less than a glorious time?—all things will be new.

9. Lastly, the only difference will be in the time; how long this day of judgment, or kingdom of Christ, or reign of the saints, or millennium (call it what you will) shall last. I conceive (and so do many, whose books I am not worthy to carry after them) that it will last a thousand years; and for the proof of that these following pages are offered. But if those of another mind will point another time, and prove it, it shall very well please me, who am, I hope, and ever shall be, as willing to hear as to speak, to learn as teach. And so, entreating thee, courteous reader, to pardon whatsoever thou seest in me amiss, I humbly beg thy prayers to God for me, and (if that were any thing worth) I will not fail thee in mine, who always desire to be (though worthless) a servant to Christ and thy soul.

I. F.

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A SOBER INQUIRY,

&c.

THE RISE AND RUIN OF ANTICHRIST.

AMONGST the many questions that this age abounds with, these two great questions seem more especially to be of concernment to us, viz. when did that man of sin, who hath been the world's burden and the saint's bane, arise, and when shall he cease? Secondly, whether shall Christ personally reign with his saints, and take into his own hands the monarchy of the world; when, and how long, if he do? I confess these inquiries themselves are such as lie under the censures of some, the reproaches of others, and the general neglect of very many; so that it will not be needless to say something by way of justification of ourselves, before we come to the questions themselves: the which I shall do in these three conclusions.

Con. 1. This inquiry is no enemy to a man's own grace, or the grace of God in others; but rather a special help and advantage to the increase and quickening of grace, both in the person inquiring, and the person reading and hearing. For even this is included under that general command, John v. 39: "Search the Scriptures."

God commands not that which is prejudicial to our graces, but advantageous to their growth and increase. Hence we may and must (1 Thess. v. 21) "Prove all things, and hold fast that which is good." Again, a word of blessing goes along with sincere and faithful endeavours of this nature. Rev. i. 3: "Blessed is he that readeth, and they that hear the words of this prophecy, and keep those things which are written therein." Rev. xxii. 7: "Blessed is he that keepeth the sayings of the prophecy of this book." The original word in either place which is translated *to keep*, comes from the verb τηρέω, and signifies to reserve, or observe; noting a searching, so as to wear or rub out, that we may keep what we so find. Again, we have a particular promise of fruit and success annexed to such an inquiry or inquiries. Dan. xii. 4: "Many shall run to and fro [that is, about the time of the end, when the things themselves draw towards an accomplishment, many shall run to and fro, by inquiries, and searchings, and disputes], and knowledge shall be increased." And this cannot be head-knowledge only, but heart-knowledge also; for the first would be a poor blessing without the other.

Con. 2. The Holy Ghost hath expressly foretold, that the saint at the time of the end shall make diligent inquiry into these things. Dan. viii. 13: "Then I heard one saint speaking, and another saint said unto that certain saint which spake, How long shall be the vision concerning the daily sacrifice, and the transgression of desolation, to give both the sanctuary and the host

to be trodden under foot?" Dan. xii. 5, 6: "How long shall it be to the end of these wonders?" It were easy, but I conceive it needless, to multiply texts for the proof of this; therefore,

Con. 3. The Holy Ghost hath left particular and certain ground for the faith of God's people in the last days to go to God upon for light and knowledge in these things and inquiries. Dan. xii. 4: "But thou, O Daniel, shut up the words, and seal the book, even to the time of the end"—*קץ עד עת usque ad tempus finis*. And verse 9, "the words are closed and sealed till the time of the end;" and then, as I said, many shall run to and fro, and knowledge, by these inquiries and disquisitions, shall be increased. The conclusion is, that, at or about the time of the end, mysteries are, by scrutation, searchings, inquiries, and serious studies, to be understood, the book unsealed, the vision made known; and if so, then this our practice is justifiable, and the practice of all those holy, godly, and learned divines, who have engaged themselves in studies of this nature, laudable and praiseworthy. And although many learned pens have been mistaken in some things, yet they have hit right in many others; if some lines have been crooked, yet many have been straight; men have not been infallible, and yet for all that very profitable,—so that, by their canvassing the matter to and fro, knowledge hath increased. But, on the other hand, the carelessness, and remissness, and negligence of the world, not looking narrowly, diligently, and seriously into mysteries and prophecies, hath done a great deal of hurt. What else, I pray you, was the

cause that, when Christ, in his first coming, was so earnestly expected, and looked for, and desired, and all this about the time when he did come; yet he came, and came to his own, and to his own that expected him, and did his work, and went again, and they did not receive or own him? Again, what else was the cause that antichrist should be looked for, and feared that he would come, and this about the time that he did come, and was written and preached against; yet he came, and came at that very time, and yet found entertainment; yea, hath almost lived his long life, done his work, and run his thousand two hundred and sixty days or years; and yet, for all this, the more part will hardly take notice of it, but take him for Christ's vicar, whom the dragon substituted and made to be his own lieutenant? Again, is not Christ almost ready to take the beast and false prophet, and call both out of the world into the lake, and take to himself his great power and reign, and give the kingdom to the saints, and reduce the nations under his dominion, and bind up Satan, and sit on the throne of David; and yet the more part will believe none of all this? I pray you, then, let me be amongst the number of those that run to and fro, that, if it were the will of God, knowledge might increase. And give me leave to speak a few words (and as it were by way of preparation to the second thing proposed, which I mainly intend) to the first of these two questions, to wit, of the rise and ruin of antichrist. And in the first place we are to note, that the *ὑστέροι καιροί*, *postrema tempora*, last times, so much spoken of in

the New Testament, in the general note out unto us all the times from Christ unto the consummation of all things; which times are the last in respect of the times of the world complexively considered, as old age is the last times of a man in respect of his whole complex age. Now these ὕστεροι καιροί, or last times, consist of three great periods; as Mede, the *Sober Guess*, and others, have abundantly cleared and made out: the first of these was the period or time of the dragon, when heathenism raged in the world; the second was the time of the beast and false prophet, who synchronise, when superstition and idolatries prevail; the third is the millennium or reign of Christ, when Satan is bound up, and the kingdom given to the saints. Note we further, that the Scripture tells us of no other period; these three are all; and where the first ends, the second begins; and the ending of the second just precedes the beginning of the third. Now our question is of the second of these three periods.

[The author of this work here gives various reasons for concurring with Mede, that the rise of antichrist was in 410, and would terminate in 1670: as events have sufficiently manifested this to be a mistake, it is needless to reprint this part of the treatise, which extends to thirteen pages in the edition of 1670. Besides Mede, he refers to Leigh's *Excidium Antichristi*, Moore's *Idea of Antichristianism*, &c. The gradual progress of the apostacy, which began even in the apostles' days (2 Thess. ii. 7), has necessarily thrown more difficulty on the time of the commencement of the 1260 years. Our Lord's statement, *It is not*

for you to know the times or the seasons which the Father hath put in his own power (Acts i. 7), may shew us that there is a mystery about the times, which will only be removed as the near approach of the time and the wants of the Church shall make it profitable to have the mystery finished (Rev. x. 6, 7). The editor has given his own suggestions in several of his publications, particularly the *Practical Guide to the Prophecies*, 6th edition; and the *Restoration of the Jews*, 2d edition.]

THE MILLENNIUM, GREAT JUDGMENT, OR
REIGN OF CHRIST.

I COME now, in the second place, to that which I chiefly intend to speak to, viz. to treat of the millennium, or the great judgment, in the compass whereof Christ and his saints reign together a thousand years. I must confess, in the words of Pareus,* *Hæc explicare fateor me trepide aggredi*, that I was somewhat afraid to adventure upon the handling of these things; because, what I conceive to be the genuine sense and meaning of those Scriptures which treat of this subject, and the mind of God herein, is laden with many and inveterate prejudices; partly by the long disuse and crying down of what was formerly received by orthodox antiquity; and partly because of the many fopperies, if not worse, which have been tacked to the truth. So that I shall herein dissent from many who yet profess the same things in

* Pareus, Com. on Apoc. cap. 20.

the general; it being, I hope, my design to free the truth from errors and falsities, which have a long time hung upon it: but these I am willing to dissent from. I fear far more, lest I should not agree in opinion with many worthy, pious, and grave divines, from whom I am very unwilling in the least to depart. But if I may not have the assent of all such as yet, having notwithstanding many famous lights, as, Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Tertullian, Piscator, Alstedius, Mede, Dr. Twisse, Archer, Holmes, Tillinghast, *cum multis aliis*, to walk in the same path, and lead me the way, I shall follow their steps so far as I may, beseeching the reader to pardon me, if now and then he see me step aside. I will promise to be as careful and circumspect as God shall help me: let me have the reader's charity. The mother-text of Scripture, whence the Church of the Jews did ground the name and expectation of the great day of judgment, with the circumstances thereto belonging, and whereunto almost all the descriptions and expressions thereof in the New Testament have reference, is that vision of the seventh of Daniel, of a session of judgment, when the fourth beast came to be destroyed,—where this great assizes is represented after the manner of the great *Synedrion*, or consistory of Israel, wherein the *pater judicii* had his *assessores*, sitting upon seats semicircle-wise before him, from his right hand to his left. “I beheld,” saith Daniel, ver. 9, “till the thrones or seats were pitched down—[עַד דִּי כִרְסֵין רָמִי]. LXX. ἕως οἱ θρόνοι ἐτίθησαν. Vulg. Lat. *donec throni positi sunt*; not thrown down, as our late English hath

it, but pitched down, namely, for the senators to sit upon;]—and the ancient of days [that is, the *pater consistorii*] did sit," &c. "And [*sub-aud.* I beheld] till the judgment was set [that is, the whole Sanhedrim], and the books were opened," &c.

Here we see both the form of judgment delivered, and the name of judgment expressed, which is afterward yet twice more repeated; first, in the amplification of the tyranny of the wicked horn (ver. 21, 22), which is said to be continued till the ancient of days came, and judgment was given to the saints of the Most High; that is, *potestas judicandi ipsis facta*, the power of judging was made over to them. And the second time, in the angel's interpretation (ver. 26): "But the judgment shall sit, and they shall take away the dominion, to consume and destroy to the end." From this description it came, that the Jews gave it the name of יום דין and יום דינא רבא, *dies judicii* and *dies judicii magni*, the day of judgment, and the great day of judgment; whence, in the epistle of St. Jude, ver. 6, it is called κρίσις μεγάλης ἡμέρας, the judgment of the great day,—a far greater than any horary, even a millenary day; as shall more plainly afterwards (*Deo adjuvante*) be evinced and proved.

From the same description they learned, that the destruction then to be should be by fire, because it is said, ver. 9, "His throne was a fiery flame, and his wheels burning. A fiery stream issued and came forth before him;" and, ver. 11, "the beast was slain, and his body destroyed, and given to the burning flame."

From the same fountain are derived those expressions in the Gospel, where this day is intimated or described; as, "The Son of Man shall come in the clouds of heaven." "The Son of Man shall come in the glory of his Father, with his holy angels." Forasmuch as it is said here, "Thousand thousands ministered unto him," &c. And that Daniel "saw one like the Son of Man coming with the clouds; and he came to the ancient of days, and they brought [or placed him] near him," &c.

Hence Paul learned that the saints should judge the world; because it is said, that "many thrones were set." And, ver. 22, by way of exposition, that "the judgment was given to the saints of the Most High," &c.

Hence the same apostle learned also to confute the false fear of the Thessalonians; "That the day of Christ's second coming was then at hand; because that day could not be till the man of sin were first come, and should have reigned his time appointed." Forasmuch as Daniel had foretold it should be so, and that his destruction should be at the Son of Man's appearing in the clouds, whose appearance therefore was not to be till then. This is *ἐπιφάνεια τῆς παρουσίας αὐτοῦ* in St. Paul; "whom the Lord (saith he) shall destroy at the *ἐπιφάνεια* of his coming." Daniel's wicked horn, or beast acting in the wicked horn, is St. Paul's "man of sin," as the Church from her infancy hath understood and always interpreted it.

But to go on. While this judgment sits, and when it had destroyed the fourth beast, the Son of Man, which comes in the clouds, receives domi-

nion and glory, and a kingdom, that all people, nations, and languages, should serve and obey him, ver. 4; which kingdom is thrice explained, afterwards, to be the kingdom of the saints of the Most High, ver. 18. "These four beasts," saith the angel, "are four kings which shall arise. But [viz. when they have finished their course,] the saints of the Most High shall take the kingdom," &c. And, again, ver. 21, "The wicked horn prevailed, until the time came that the saints possessed the kingdom."

Again, ver. 27, "When the fourth beast reigning in the wicked horn was destroyed, the kingdom and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven, shall be given to the people of the saints of the Most High."

Now these grounds being thus laid, I argue as followeth:—The kingdom of the Son of Man and of the saints of the Most High in Daniel begins when the great judgment sits.

The kingdom in the Apocalypse, chap. xx. 4, wherein the saints reign with Christ a thousand years, is the same with the kingdom of the Son of Man and the saints of the Most High in the prophet Daniel.

Ergo, it also begins at the great judgment.

That the kingdom in Daniel, and that of a thousand years in the Apocalypse, are one and the same kingdom, plainly and evidently appears thus:—

First; because they began *ab eodem termino*, from the same epocha, or beginning, namely, at the destruction of the fourth beast; that in Daniel, when the beast (then ruling in the wicked horn) was slain, and his body destroyed, and given to

the burning flame, Dan. vii. 11, 22, 27; that in the Apocalypse, when the beast and false prophet (the wicked horn in Daniel) were taken, and both cast alive into the lake of fire burning with brimstone, Rev. xix. 20.

Secondly; because St. John begins the *regnum*, or kingdom of a thousand years, from the same session of judgment described in Daniel; as appears by his parallel expression borrowed from thence:

St. John saith, ch. xx.

Ver. 4. I saw thrones, and they sat upon them.

And judgment was given unto them.

And the saints lived and reigned with Christ a thousand years.

Daniel saith, ch. 7.

Ver. 9. I beheld till the thrones were pitched down, and the judgment [i.e. *judices*] set.

22. And judgment was given to the saints of the Most High.

And the saints possessed the kingdom, [viz. with the Son of Man, who came in the clouds.]

Now, if it be sufficiently proved that the one thousand years begin with the day of judgment, it will appear further, out of the Apocalypse, that the judgment is not consummate till they be ended; for Gog and Magog's destruction, and the universal resurrection, is not till then: therefore the whole one thousand years is included in that great day of judgment.

But thus much may suffice to have spoken, by way of explication, to that mother-text in the Old Testament, the which I have so called, because hence it will follow, *quasi consecrarium quoddam de interpretatione aliorum Scripturæ locorum huc pertinentium*, that whatsoever Scripture speaks of

a kingdom of Christ to be at his second appearing, or at the destruction of antichrist, must needs be the same which Daniel saw should be at that time; and so, consequently, be the kingdom of a thousand years, which the Apocalypse includes between the beginning and consummation of the great judgment. All of them also have a likeness, and are referred to this. Yea, our Saviour calls himself so frequently the Son of Man, because Daniel so called him in this vision of the great judgment, and to teach us that we are to look for the accomplishment of what is there prophesied of in himself. I had now done with this text, but that I have perceived, by some conferences I have had with some reverend divines, that it is needful to answer an objection which hath been started, in opposition to all that hath been said.

Object. Daniel (say some, who, with Dr. Willet and others, take this wicked horn to be meant of Antiochus Epiphanes,) shews not the Roman monarchy's persecution of the Church, and the fall of the same monarchy. For—

If the Roman empire's persecuting the saints, and the fall of the empire, were not revealed, till Christ revealed them to John in the Apocalypse, then Daniel revealed them not.

But the Roman empire's persecution and fall were not revealed till Christ revealed them to St. John in the Apocalypse.

Ergo, Daniel revealed them not.

The major proposition, say they, is clear; the minor is thus proved.

The Romans persecuting the saints, and their

fall, is revealed in the little book, Apoc. v. &c., by opening seven seals, and blowing seven trumpets; all concerning and respecting seven-headed Rome: and none were able to open the seals of this book till Christ opened them to St. John.

Therefore the Roman empire's persecution, and their fall, were revealed to none, before Christ revealed them to St. John.

The former part of the antecedent is granted by all interpreters of the Apocalypse; the latter part is clear in the text, Apoc. v. 3. None was able to open the book; none in heaven or earth, or under the earth, to make the speech more emphatical. Paul, who delivered to his hearers all the counsel of God, could have preached the persecutions of the Roman empire to his hearers from Daniel, if Daniel had in his visions opened them.

This contains the strength of what I have been opposed withal, in reference to the exposition of this text: the which I come now to make this answer to it.

Ans. 1. The Roman empire to be the fourth kingdom of Daniel, was believed by the Church of Israel, both before and in our Saviour's time, received by the disciples of the apostles, and the whole Christian Church for the first 400 years, without any known contradiction.* And I confess, having so good ground in Scripture, it is with me *tantum non articulus fidei*, almost an article of faith: for the four monarchies of the world, in Daniel, are twice revealed; first, to Nebuchadnezzar, in a glorious image of four sundry metals,

* Vide Jonathan Ben Uzziel, Chald. Paraph. l. iv. of Esdras; Just. Mart.; Irenæus.

Dan. ii.; secondly, to Daniel himself, in a vision of four diverse beasts arising out of the sea, Dan. vii. The intent of both is, (as I have shewed in one already, and shall in the other, when I have done with this objection), by that succession of kingdoms to point out the kingdom and the time of the kingdom of Christ.

2. I acknowledge also the subject of the apocalyptic visions to be *fata imperii Romani post primum Christi adventum usque ad secundum superfuturi*, the fates of the Roman empire, which, after the first coming of Christ, was still to continue in being even till the second. And this I affirm, the Roman kingdom was revealed unto Daniel, but not according to that distinct succession of things, and specification of the fates thereof, (which was first made known unto St. John), but only in general, and *in imagine confusa*, not to be explicated but by Christ himself. I say, the Roman kingdom was revealed to Daniel in the general; but the order of the times thereof, and the *series rerum gerendarum*, or course of things to be acted therein, not until the Revelation unto St. John.

3. Nor is it strange or unwonted that a thing may be revealed in general, and yet most of the particulars concerning the same to be unknown and sealed. The calling of the Gentiles, or the kingdom of Christ among the Gentiles, by way of surrogation to the Jews, was revealed unto St. Peter and Paul, and the rest of the apostles; but the particular fates and states of that kingdom were never known till Christ revealed them to St. John in the apocalyptic

visions. The like I say of the fourth, or Roman kingdom, the general revelation whereof could not but be before the opening of the sealed book in the Apocalypse, since it had then been so long a time in the world as that it was grown past the ἀκμή, and had fulfilled what it was to fulfil upon Daniel's people.

4. As for the persecutions of the Church, I deny the argument, either of the seals or trumpets, to be the Roman persecutions of Christ's kingdom; or that any of them have reference to persecutions, save the fifth seal only; or that any thing contained in them was made known to Daniel, save the catastrophe only represented in the last trumpet, which the *angelus tonitruum* proclaims there to be *consummatio mysterii Dei*, *prout annuntiavit servis suis prophetis*,—"the finishing of the mystery of God, as he hath declared to his servants the prophets;" and therefore cannot be denied to have been both foretold and expected for the general, although not for the manner, time, and order, *in serie rerum gerendarum*, in the course of things to be acted till then.

Clear it is that the assertion by some owned, and in the objection named, that the Roman persecution was revealed to none till Christ revealed it to John, cannot stand, unless we deny the coming of the man of sin (who is a great limb of that fourth kingdom) to be any part of the Church's afflictions; for this was revealed unto St. Paul, both for the quality and the fall thereof, viz. that Christ should destroy it ἐπιφάνεια τῆς παρουσίας αὐτοῦ, which I make no doubt but St.

Paul learned out of the seventh of Daniel, where that ruffling-horn is not destroyed until the Son of Man comes in the clouds of heaven to receive that universal kingdom which shall never suffer persecution. But whereas it is said that the ruffling-horn of the fourth beast is Antiochus Epiphanes, I demonstrate the contrary by this one argument following:—

The ruffling-horn reigns until the Ancient of days comes, in fiery flames, to destroy him, and to give judgment unto the saints of the Most High, and until the time comes that the saints possessed the kingdom, viz. until the Son of Man comes in the clouds of heaven, to receive a kingdom, wherein all nations, people, and languages should serve and obey him. Dan. vii. 9, 10, 11, 13; which is expounded, ver. 22, 26, &c.

But Antiochus Epiphanes reigned not until this time; for he died 160 years, and more, before the birth of Christ, and almost 200 years before his ascension; the least of which numbers is a longer space of time than was from the death of Alexander unto Antiochus.

Ergo, Antiochus Epiphanes is not that ruffling-horn.

But I conceive this may suffice to answer this objection. I therefore now shall step a little forward, and look into that other text, Dan. ii. 31–45, where we have, in Nebuchadnezzar's great image, the four great monarchies of the world represented and held out unto us, and that in this order following:—

1. The first monarchy was the Assyrian, which fell into the Babylonian, and blossomed in Nim-

rod (Gen. x. 8, 9, 10), and was ripened in that present Nebuchadnezzar, his child and grandchild. This monarchy was represented in that image by the head of gold, Dan. ii. 38.

2. The second monarchy was that of the Medes and Persians, which blossomed in Cyrus, who conquered Babylon, and slew Belshazzar, and endured till Darius, whom Alexander, a Grecian, overthrew. This monarchy was expressed in that image by the breasts and arms of silver, Dan. ii. 39 with ver. 32.

3. The third monarchy was that of the Greeks, which blossomed, or rather immaturesly and suddenly ripened, in Alexander the Great of Macedon, who presently, by his victories, overran the world; and, by his sudden and untimely death, was divided into four great parts, by four of his chief generals, who parted the world among them, Dan. ii. 39. This Grecian monarchy was expressed in that image by a belly and thighs of brass.

4. The fourth monarchy was that of the Romans, which blossomed and ripened leisurely and by degrees, and was therefore more likely to last long; and by certain gradations and much time rooted out successively all the inheritors of Alexander, and the upholders of the Greek monarchy, and possessed all the chief known parts of the world; and so fetching its beginning lower westward, and yet up as high eastward, it became a mightier monarchy than any of the former. This monarchy was expressed in the image by the legs of iron, Dan. ii. 32, 40; because, as iron, it was strongest of all, and subdued

all under it; but in process of time, the body of the world, which it bore up, being so great, to which it was a leg or supporter, it divided itself (as it is in the natural body) into two legs, and is in the image so expressed, though for a great while it was but one monarchy; yet at last it grew into two, the eastern and western monarchy. The western, after the eastern was lost, fell into feet and toes, or kingdoms, wherein was both strength and weakness, iron and clay, and these never to be rejoined or united, notwithstanding it hath been endeavoured, by marriages and other covenants, to mingle and to rejoin in one monarchy. But it shall never be; but to the period and upshot of their sovereignty and monarchy they shall remain kingdoms distinct, as feet and toes of iron and clay unminglable.

Now in the days of this fourth Roman and western monarchy there shall be a stone cut out without hands (Dan. ii. 34, 36), which shall first ruin these kingdoms; it smote the image on the feet, that were of iron and clay (ver. 34); and so swallowed up the whole image. All the foregoing monarchies were brought under it, and by it to nothing (ver. 35); and it became a monarchy over the whole earth, wherever any of the former monarchies had ruled (ver. 35); that is, as it is explained, ver. 44, 45, a kingdom which that stone shall obtain, set up by the God of heaven. And whereas the other monarchies were erected by men on earth, though permitted by God, this kingdom or monarchy shall swallow up in it all foregoing monarchies, and that by no human means or policy; for it was without hands, or

not in hand ; that is, not of man, but a divine work every way ; and it shall reach, and swallow up, not only the feet and toes, but the legs of brass, the breast and arms of silver, the head of gold (Dan. ii. 34, 35);—that is, all kingdoms and states that were, from first to last, under any of the monarchies, shall be swallowed up by, and come under this. And this is a fifth monarchy, which shall arise in the world, after the former four, which is to be understood of a state of Christ's kingdom here upon earth ; as it appears :

1. Because it is called “a stone,” as Christ is the stone which the builders refused, yet is become the head of the corner, 1 Pet. ii. 3–8, and “fills the whole earth,” ver. 35.

2. It is a stone *דִּי לֹא בִידוֹן*, *qui non est in manibus*, which is not in hand, or not cut out with hands ; because by God immediately, without human help, this kingdom shall be reared up.

3. Its duration—that it shall last for ever—shews it is meant of Christ's kingdom ; no people shall swallow it up, as they have done all other monarchies. The Babylonian was left to the Medes and Persians, and this to the Grecians, and the Grecian to the Romans ; but this shall be left to none, but shall be for ever, Dan. ii. 44 ; that is, to the world's end. It is left to no other kingdom ; for at the world's end, when Christ delivers it up, he delivers it not to any other people, but to the Father, 1 Cor. xv. 24.

THE PROPHECY IN REV. XX.

THE next text we may look into, and as it were the eldest daughter of these already handled, is that 20th chapter of the Revelation, of which I shall speak a little more largely, wrapping in many other Scriptures, handling the same thing, with it. Where, first, we have, ver. 1, the Lord Jesus Christ descending and coming down from heaven, in those words: "I saw an angel come down from heaven, having the key of the bottomless pit, and a great chain in his hand." This angel is Christ, called Michael, Rev. xii. 7, who destroys the works of the devil, and is stronger than he, to bind him, and cast him out of the air into the pit. It is he that conquered him upon his white horse, who went forth (Rev. vi. 2, *ὅτι νικήσῃ, ut vinceret*) that he might conquer. He cast him down to the earth, Rev. xii. 8; he defeated him, in his lieutenant, the beast; he hath the keys of hell and death; and his regal power and authority is notably set out by the emblem of a great chain in his hand: and here he doth three things unto him.

1. He apprehends him; he laid hold on the dragon, that old serpent, which is the devil and Satan. He lays hold upon him by his power, and gripes him as one in fury. The description of the dragon here, and chap. xii. 9, is one and the same, to shew that it is the same devil that there was cast unto the earth, and now by this descending angel, the Lord Jesus Christ, is cast into the pit.

2. He binds him, the term of his bondage

being expressed : "and bound him;" he ties him up from his former liberty, and chains him as men do desperate dogs or mastiffs; and that for a long time, "and bound him a thousand years."

3. Imprisons him, the place where is in the bottomless pit; that is, an abyss, which he before feared. Luke viii. 31: "They besought him that he would not command them to go εἰς τὴν ἄβυσσον, into the deep, or pit;" as it is here: the original word is one and the same. And the manner how was very securely; he shut him up, and set a seal upon him; as sometimes it was with Daniel in the lions' den, Dan. vi. 17, and with Christ's body in the sepulchre, Matt. xxvii. ult.; which shews the certainty and fulness of this restraint, and the complete power and superiority of the angel over him, who shall no more suffer Satan this thousand years to range abroad, and to disturb the reign of Christ and his people, and to do mischief as before, being fast shut and locked up in prison; he shall neither use his former violence nor subtilties. Lastly; the end of all this is, that he should deceive the nations no more; which I conceive is not to be understood absolutely and simply (as if he should not have any liberty to deceive any man living, as some would have it), but with respect to such extent and success as before, he shall not now prosper in his designs and attempts. And it signifies a new and further restraint beyond that in Rev. xii., where he was cast down to the earth, when he was cast down from open heathenism and open persecution, as a dragon; under that

notion he was cast out of the Church. Yet he did begin presently to try a new way, and that not without success; for as before he had made the world mad in their heathenism, so now he makes them mad in idolatries and superstitions, substituting the beast in his room and place, giving him his power, and fear, and great authority (Rev. xiii. 2); and causing that all, both small and great, rich and poor, free and bound, should receive a mark in their hands or foreheads, else they should not have the liberty to buy or sell, pray or preach, traffic or trade with any.

But now he shall be bound from that liberty of deluding the nations any more, either by his paganism, as he did in the first period, or by superstition and idolatry, as in the second. Neither yet shall he tempt them any more, so as to disquiet and trouble their peaceful reign with Christ on earth.

But to go on. This preparation being made, we read, ver. 4: "I saw," saith John, "thrones, and they sat upon them, and judgment was given unto them; and I saw the souls of them that were beheaded for the witness of Jesus and for the Word of God, and which had not worshipped the beast neither his image, neither had received his mark upon their foreheads or in their hands: and they lived and reigned with Christ a thousand years." In which words, that we may come as near their sense and meaning as possibly we can, I shall endeavour to explain and make clear these three things following, viz.:—

1. What thrones and what judgment is here meant? what must we understand by them?

2. What are the souls of those that were beheaded, and worshipped not the beast, &c.?

3. What is their life and reign with Christ a thousand years?

Qu. 1. What thrones, and what judgment, is here meant? or what must we understand by them?

Ans. Let us observe the words in the original, which runs thus: Καὶ εἶδον θρόνους, καὶ ἐκάθισαν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς, καὶ κρίμα ἐδόθη αὐτοῖς. For the right understanding of these words, two things are to be premised, which are these next following:—

1. That these thrones are set for the conquerors of the beast and false prophet; for it is expressly said, “they sat upon them, and judgment was given to them, αὐτοῖς; namely, to them of whom mention is made in the 14th verse of the foregoing chapter: for to suppose the words, “they sat upon them,” to relate only to the following words, “the souls of them that were beheaded,” is to place the relative before any antecedent. The thrones, therefore, are set for them who descended from heaven, with Christ, to make war against the beast and false prophet. Rev. xix. 14: “And the armies which were in heaven followed him upon white horses, clothed in fine linen, white and clean;” for these, and not others, are next mentioned, whom he had before more clearly described, Rev. xvii. 14: “These” (namely, the ten kings, who have given their power to the beast) “shall make war with the Lamb, and the Lamb shall overcome them; for he is Lord of lords, and King of kings; and they that are

with him are called, and chosen, and faithful;" for these, that come with the Lamb, and war with the Lamb, are these thrones set.

2. *Krīma*, *judgment*, here is the same, and signifies the same with the word *reign*, or *kingdom*; for it immediately follows, "and they reigned;" which kingdom is, in this place, given to the saints, after the destruction of the beast, antichrist; and it is the same kingdom which Daniel speaks, before handled. The thrones, therefore, here set, are the thrones in which the saints shall sit, at the second coming of Christ, at the final destruction of antichrist. And judgment is that kingdom which the saints shall then obtain; not a horary or diary, properly so called, but a millenary upon earth (as the text plainly and *totidem verbis* expresseth), to be perpetuated in heaven afterwards to all eternity; after the last judgment, properly and strictly taken, which shall be the last effect of this kingdom on earth, consisting in the final justification of the just and absolution of the faithful, and in the final reprobation and condemnation of the wicked and ungodly. Of these thrones and of this judgment Christ speaks, Matt. xix. 28: "Verily I say unto you, That ye which have followed me in the regeneration, when the Son of Man shall sit on the throne of his glory, ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel." So Luke xxii. 29, 30: "I appoint unto you a kingdom, as my Father hath appointed unto me, that ye may eat and drink at my table in my kingdom, and sit on thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel;" where, in the former text, by

twelve thrones all the thrones are meant; but they are called twelve in reference to the twelve apostles, in whom are represented the multitude of the faithful, judging and reigning: as Austin well noteth, in his 20th book *De Civitate Dei*, cap. 5. For of all the faithful the apostle Paul speaks, 2 Cor. vi. 2: "Do ye not know that the saints shall judge the world?"—that is, govern the same. And, lastly, John, in the Revelation, Rev. iii. 21: "To him that overcometh will I grant to sit with me in my throne, even as I also overcame, and am set down with my Father in his throne." But thus we see what thrones and what judgment is here meant. The next question which was proposed follows, which is—

Qu. 2. What is meant by the souls of them that were beheaded?

Ans. The words in the original run thus: Καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν πεπελεκισμένων διὰ τὴν μαρτυρίαν Ἰησοῦ: the word εἶδον is to be added or supplied. And so do all the interpreters; and some do repeat it, as the Arabic, *et vidi animas*: "And I saw the souls of them that were beheaded." He saw sitting on thrones the souls of them that were beheaded. Now here let the reader weigh these particulars following, for the right understanding of these words, viz.:

1. *Ψυχὰι, souls*, are here put for the dead. The souls of them that were beheaded, is the same with the dead that were beheaded: *animæ percussorum idem sint quod mortui percussi*. And this interpretation is manifest from the opposite clause or sentence, *cæteri mortuorum*, the rest of the dead lived not again; and therefore the

first are considered as dead. *Animæ in sacris literis non tantum personas sed cadavera denotat*, saith Mede: *souls*, in Sacred Writ, denotes not only persons, but dead bodies. So, in the Hebrew text, *souls* are often taken for the dead. Amongst those many places where they are so taken, see a place or two. Levit. xxi. 1: "There shall none of the sons of Aaron be defiled [לנפש בעמיו, *pro anima in populis suis*,] for the soul, ["for the dead," saith our English,] among his people." So Levit. xix. ver. 28: ושרט לנפש לא תחנו בבשרכם, *et incisionem pro anima non debitis in carne vestra*, "ye shall make no cuttings in your flesh for the soul [dead]." So Psalm xvi. 10: "Thou shalt not leave my soul in hell," i.e. me dead in the grave.

2. These souls are those very souls that did cry under the altar for the avenging of their blood, and waited for the redemption of their bodies, Rev. vi. 9, 10; which appears not only from the anaphorical article, here twice repeated, τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν, *illas animas illorum*, "the very souls of them;" but chiefly from the identical description of those souls, Apoc. vi. 10, and these here, Apoc. xx. 4: "souls of them that were slain," in the former text; "souls of them that were beheaded," in this; viz. the martyrs of the first period under the dragon.

3. Now to these souls are adjoined also the souls of those that did not worship the beast nor receive his mark; who also for this cause, refusing to do it, were killed, Rev. xiii. 15. The words in the Greek are καὶ οἱ τινες: where, after the conjunction καὶ, must necessarily be under-

stood ἄνθρωποι: as if he had said, καὶ ἄνθρωποι οἵτινες οὐ προσεκύνησαν τῷ θηρίῳ, "and the men, whosoever had not worshipped the beast nor his image;" *souls* and *men* are here joined, *quasi termini convertibiles*, and those and these both taken in. And lest we should doubt here to be fulfilled what was mentioned Rev. vi. 9, 10, to those very souls was promised, after the number of these martyrs should be completed, what they cry for, and is here fulfilled, should be done, ver. 11: "And it was said unto them, that they should rest for a little season, till their fellow-servants also, and their brethren that should be killed, as they were, should be fulfilled." The expression here is very curious, and such as is worthy diligently to be minded; for the Holy Ghost hath here linked together souls and men, to shew that by those souls he meant men, as also the faithful of the second period with the first, to shew that both shall live and reign with Christ now in this third period.

4. By the name of martyrs also, by a synecdoche, are here understood all the faithful dead in Christ, who here, and often elsewhere, especially in the prophets, are described as it were killed for Christ. Whence also they are wont to be called Christ's dead body. Is. xxvi. 19: "Thy dead men shall live, together with my dead body shall they arise." So Paul writes of all the faithful, Rom. viii. 36: "For thy sake we are killed all the day long; we are counted as sheep for the slaughter." And of all the faithful it is spoken, Rev. xiv. 13: "Blessed are the dead which die in [or, for] the Lord"—οἱ νεκροὶ οἱ ἐν

Κυρίῳ ἀποθνήσκοντες. Yea more, those whom Paul had called "dead in Christ,"—1 Thess. iv. 16, "And the dead in Christ shall rise first,"—a little before, viz. ver. 14, he had called them "dead for Christ," διὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, *per vel propter Christum*, who sleep through or for Jesus. Hence he is not only said to come with ten thousands of his saints to execute judgment upon all, Jude 14; with ten thousand times ten thousand, Dan. vii. 10; but also with ALL his saints, Zech. xiv. 5: "And the Lord my God shall come, and all the saints with thee" [כל קדשים עמך, *omnes sancti tecum, Christe; vel tecum pro cum eo, Hebræo more*]. So that, as I said, by the name of martyrs or slain, all the faithful dead in Christ are here understood. All the saints come with him.

5. Certainly all the faithful are in very deed killed for Christ, and therefore martyrs; if not in the thing done, or in the effect, yet at least in affection and firm purpose of mind. Therefore Christ saith, Luke xiv. 26, "If any man come to me [*et non odit animam suam*], and doth not hate his own life,"—*i. e.* in comparison of me, and, if ever I and it come in competition, be willing to lay it down for me,—"he cannot be my disciple." To conclude, then; by souls reigning with Christ are meant all the faithful dead in Christ; concerning whom the apostle Paul thus speaks, 2 Tim. ii. 11, 12: "If we be dead with him, we shall also live with him; if we suffer, we shall also reign with him." Unto which words John seems to have respect here, when he saith, "They lived and reigned with Christ." But so that

rs me (and I come) next to the handling of
hird thing proposed.

u. 3. What is this life and reign of the saints
Christ a thousand years?

ισw. The text saith, καὶ ἔζησαν, καὶ ἔβα-
σαν μετὰ Χριστοῦ τὰ χίλια ἔτη· and ver. 6,
ασιλεύσουσι μετ' αὐτοῦ χίλια ἔτη—"they lived
reigned with Christ a thousand years;" "and
shall reign with him a thousand years."

life of the souls of them that were beheaded
s to be no other than the life of the body,
h they did lay down in the death of the
; and which now in the resurrection they
ve again, no more to die the death of the
. Certainly this life cannot be meant of life
tual, in opposition to death spiritual, or death
n; because it is the life of those that were
aded, to whom it is not granted after death
ise from sin. Besides, "lived" here is all
with the resurrection here spoken of, ver. 6.
y lived, that is, they rose again to life; which
it is meant of a corporal, and not of a spi-
l resurrection, there are in the text argu-
ts for the one and against the other. And
these arguments in the text offer themselves
t, viz.

Because John speaks of the souls of them
were beheaded, that is, of those that were
, or dead in body. And he saith, "they
l," that is, they lived again; but the dead in
y live not again but by a resurrection from
death of the body. The argument may be
framed:—

he resurrection of the dead in body is the

resurrection of the body, Matt. xxii. 31; Mark xii. 26; Acts xxiii. 6; Acts xxiv. 21; 1 Cor. xv. 12.

But the first resurrection is the resurrection of the dead in body, for it is the resurrection of those that were beheaded. *Ergo*, it is of the body.

2. The text speaks of such a resurrection wherein men live a thousand years after they be raised; which cannot agree to any other life or resurrection but the life and resurrection of the body. *Ergo*, this resurrection is a bodily resurrection.

3. Such a resurrection is meant as happeneth to the rest of the dead after the thousand years are ended, who lived not again till the thousand years were finished; ver. 5, which shall be of the body. *Ergo*, this resurrection is of the body also.

4. The men that were beheaded must so live during the thousand years as the rest of the dead lived not all that while: but the rest of the dead lived all that while in soul separated from the body; therefore, the men that were beheaded must live all that while in soul joined to the body.

5. The men that were beheaded must so live at the first resurrection as the rest of the dead shall at the second resurrection: but the rest of the dead shall live in body and soul too at the second resurrection; therefore, the men that were beheaded shall live in body and soul too at the first resurrection. But they cannot be said to live in their bodies unless they be raised from

their graves, therefore the first resurrection is of the body from the grave. But thus we see that the text itself affords us arguments to prove that this resurrection is a corporal or bodily resurrection. It will also, secondly, afford and yield arguments to prove that it is not a spiritual resurrection: as,

1. John was not called upon from heaven to behold that which he and every Christian knew before, or to have tautologies told him: for if by resurrection should be meant regeneration (as some would have it), he knew, and so did every Christian before, that such were blessed. And according to that interpretation the words sound no more but this,—Blessed and holy is he that hath part in holiness; which were but a harsh tautology.

2. This spiritual resurrection did begin in Adam after his fall, and hath continued ever since, and shall to the world's end. But the first resurrection here spoken of did not begin in Adam, but is to begin after the Armageddon battle (which will be the last and fatal blow whereby the beast and false prophet shall be for ever cashiered out of the world), and last a thousand years, and no longer. *Ergo*, this resurrection is not regeneration.

3. He that hath part in the first resurrection shall live and reign with Christ a thousand years; but no regenerate man did ever live so long in a state of regeneration. *Ergo*, regeneration cannot be meant by this resurrection.

4. No man is regenerate after death; but the men that were beheaded did live and reign with

Christ a thousand years after they were beheaded. *Ergo*, this life and reign cannot be meant of regeneration.

5. The men that were beheaded, &c. are not any of them excluded from reigning with Christ a thousand years; but if the first resurrection be meant of regeneration, then, begin the account when you will, and many shall be excluded. To instance, suppose we begin at the death of Stephen (Acts vii.), who was the first that was slain for the witness of Jesus and the word of God; the thousand years were then ended about six hundred years ago, and all that were beheaded since are excluded from reigning with Christ a thousand years. Or suppose we begin with Constantine, as many desire, the thousand years were then ended about three hundred years ago; and so they that were beheaded before the days of Constantine are excluded from the thousand years, and they that have been beheaded since, in the last three hundred years, are excluded also. *Ergo*,

6. He that hath a part in the first resurrection hath a share in the thousand years, whether he were beheaded or no, as appears, ver. 6, before mentioned; but they that were regenerate before the death of Christ had a part in the first resurrection (if we understand it of regeneration), and yet they had no part in the thousand years, because they were dead before. And they that have been regenerated since the thousand years are supposed to be ended, had also a part in the first resurrection, *i. e.* in regeneration, yet they had no share in the thousand years, because

they are supposed to be ended before they were regenerate. *Ergo*,

7. If the first resurrection be meant of a spiritual resurrection, then when it is said that the rest of the dead lived not again till the thousand years were ended, that must be meant of a spiritual resurrection too; for the words, "they lived not again," ver. 5, are opposed to the words, "they lived," ver. 4, and so consequently to the first resurrection, as is proved before. But this latter clause is not meant of a spiritual resurrection; for then the rest of the dead should be regenerate when the thousand years are ended, and then none should be for ever damned; which most exactly contradicts the text, Rev. xx. 15, "Whosoever was not found written in the book of life was cast into the lake of fire." *Ergo*, no spiritual, but a corporal resurrection is meant. If by the word *donec*, until, we understand *nunquam*, never, as some would have it, this is contrary to the Scripture too; for when it is said, ver. 3, "Satan shall deceive the nations no more until the thousand years be fulfilled," the meaning is, he should not deceive them while the thousand years continued, but should have liberty to deceive them afterwards. So when it is said, "the rest of the dead lived not again until the thousand years were finished," the meaning must of necessity be, they lived not again while the thousand years continued, but are to live again when the thousand years are ended: but then they are not to live again by a spiritual resurrection; therefore that is not the meaning of the words; but the meaning is, they

shall live again in a bodily resurrection. But if this latter clause be meant of a bodily resurrection, then the former clause, where it is said, "The souls of them that were beheaded lived and reigned with Christ a thousand years," is meant of a bodily resurrection : *quod erat demonstrandum*. But thus I have done with that first misunderstanding of this text, to understand it of regeneration, which I confess I see not, for these and other reasons, how it can be. Neither yet can it be meant of a life of glory in heaven, as some others would have it ; for John was not called to heaven to see things to be done there, but to see things there to be done on earth. Rev. iv. 1 : "A door was opened in heaven," and he called to come up. For what end ? to see things that must be hereafter. Where ? in heaven ? No ; but on earth, see Rev. vi. 1, 2, 3. And all done on earth. Those things that were represented to John in heaven shall be done on earth : as the vision of the woman, and the great red dragon, represented to him in heaven, but fulfilled on the earth. There is not one instance can be given of any thing in the Revelations that is to be fulfilled in heaven, except the text do express it so to be, which it doth not here ; for the Apocalypse is a revelation of things to be fulfilled on earth. Besides, it cannot be meant of a life in heaven ; because many of those who were killed have lived this life before these thousand years, and the life in heaven is not a life to end when these thousand years are ended. Nor can that life be called a living again, or a resurrection ; for that life and happiness of the saints

is not the restoring a life lost, but the enjoyment and possession of a new life. It is therefore a corporal life, which is meant by the life from the dead, after the final destruction to the beast and false prophet in the day of Christ's second coming, which will be the time of the resurrection, first of the first, and secondly of the second.

The reign of these souls, that is, of the dead now living, as soon as ever they are united to their bodies, will be a reign upon earth, as plainly appears, Rev. v. 10: "And hast made us kings and priests unto God; and we shall reign on the EARTH." Either, then, this shall be on the earth, or else the four-and-twenty elders were mistaken in their doxology. Now what is there said *in terminis*, is here in this 20th chapter said to be fulfilled, ver. 4, 6: "They lived and reigned with Christ a thousand years; . . . and they shall reign with him a thousand years;" which cannot be meant, as I said, of heaven after the day of judgment, for that is longer than a thousand years; nor of the kingdom of heaven before the day of judgment, for that is also more than a thousand years; but of a kingdom they shall have on earth; as the words plainly shew in the fore-cited text, Rev. v. 10.

Besides, that this kingdom and the saints' reign shall be on earth, may be gathered from two things in the text, which offer themselves to leave this beyond all doubt.

1. Because the devil shall be perfectly bound up in the bottomless pit, that the saints may quietly reign; which would not be needful to be done that the saints might quietly reign in

heaven, for he could make no disturbance there, nor get thither.

2. Because, unless they were to reign on earth, Satan, Gog, and Magog, could not war against them. But we read, ver. 7, 8, "That when the thousand years are ended, Gog and Magog shall rise against them." From whence it doth appear, that the beloved city and the camp of the saints shall be in the midst of Gog and Magog, in the four quarters of the earth. For it is said, "They shall compass the beloved city and the camp of the saints about:" which they could not do, if either of them were in heaven. Therefore this kingdom is to come upon earth; yet it shall not be an earthly or a worldly kingdom, as the Chiliastes, and some Jews, vainly dreamed and imagined, but a gloriously spiritual and holy kingdom. Christ's kingdom now is a holy and spiritual kingdom in the hearts of his people; but then it shall be so, and much more holy and spiritual, as well as more glorious than ever it was before, when the kingdoms of the world shall become the kingdoms of God and of his Christ—when the Lord himself shall be king over all the earth, and his name be one.

Object. But it will be demanded, though it be granted, when the enemies of Christ and his people, the beast and false prophet, are overthrown and destroyed, and Satan himself chained and bound up, there will be some eminent kingdom of the saints, and that here upon earth—yet I say it will be demanded, and the query is, whether this reign of the saints that had been beheaded, and martyrs of Jesus, shall be in their

own persons, or in their successors, who profess the same truth with them; as many godly and learned divines do affirm and hold, that it is not to be understood of the same individual persons, but of their fellows and successors in the same faith and profession, who follow in the same spirit and cause.

Answ. For answer to this, I cannot see at all how such a succession, or such successors, should be meant here by this first resurrection, and this reign with Christ a thousand years; and that for these reasons, amongst others, following:—

1. Because succession cannot, in any tolerable sense, be called a resurrection; but this living again, and reigning of the saints with Christ, is called a resurrection (ver. 5). Therefore it is not a succession; for a succession is of other bodies in the room of those departed; but a resurrection is of the self-same individual bodies that were dead before. We had need, methinks, take heed, lest while we plead for and profess such a figurative and improper resurrection, we should at once both resist and deny the truth, and too much gratify atheists and Sadducees; who are willing to take all occasions to deny the resurrection altogether, and tell us it is but a fancy hatched in the brains of some men only.

2. Because the apostle tells us, that “if *we* suffer with him, *we* shall also reign with him,” 2 Tim. ii. 12. But the saints do suffer in their own persons, and not in their successors; therefore they shall reign in their own persons, and not in their survivors and successors. Now, by reigning with *him*, cannot, I conceive, be meant

in heaven, after the day of judgment is consummate and ended; for then Christ as Christ, or as Mediator, reigns not himself; but, as the apostle tells us (1 Cor. xv. 24), he delivers up the kingdom to the Father, that God may be all in all; he himself reigns but till then. If, therefore, we shall reign with him, it must be while he reigns; and that is not in this life, when he reigns in our hearts spiritually, for that is the time of our suffering with him. *Ergo*, our reigning with him must be when we are raised again, a thousand years, during the day of judgment; and this in our own persons, not in any survivors or successors: for "if *we* suffer, *we* shall reign with him."

3. Because if the saints should suffer in their own persons, and reign in their successors, this would be a very poor encouragement to any man to become a martyr. 1 Cor. xv. 18, 19: "Then they also which are fallen asleep in Christ are perished. If in this life only we have hope in Christ, we are of all men most miserable."

4. What is to suffer with Christ, but to suffer as he did; and what is it to reign with Christ, but to reign as he doth, in quality though not in equality; to be glorified with him, as Paul expounds it, Rom. viii. 17; "To sit with him upon his throne," as John expresseth it, Rev. iii. 21? But Christ's reign is not a reign in successors, for he hath none to succeed him; therefore the saints shall not reign in successors, for they must reign as he doth; and that is not in successors, but in his own person. This may be a fourth reason against the saints' living and

reigning not in their own persons, but in their successors.

5. When the text saith, *they* lived and reigned with Christ a *thousand* years, let the reader be pleased diligently to weigh these two things following:—

1. If living a thousand years be meant of living in successors, then, by this reckoning, before the thousand years began, the saints had no successors; and after the thousand years are ended, they shall have no successors neither. As suppose the thousand years should begin (*ut aliqui volunt*, as some would have it) in the days of Constantine the Great, which was about three hundred years after Christ, then the saints which lived and died before his days had, by this reckoning, no successors; for the thousand years of living in successors was not before then begun. And all the saints who have lived and died since blessed Luther's time have had no successors; for, according to this account, the thousand years of living in successors was ended before he did begin. What a strange prophecy have some made this for the angel to tell John, of a thousand years in which the saints shall live in successors, whereas the saints have had successors for above 1660 years already since Christ's time! And how many years more they may continue to succeed each other, who can tell? Surely the holy prophecy must have some other meaning than of successors.

2. If by the reigning of the souls of them that were beheaded he meant reigning in successors, then, by this reckoning, there is no reigning of

the saints at all; for if there be, it is either before or after death. Before death it cannot be, for that is a time of suffering, not of reigning; and after death they reign not in their successors, for their successors are in the same state of suffering that their predecessors were, not of reigning. For instance, take we A, B, C, D:—A doth not reign in his successor B, because B doth not reign himself; if he do, it is either before death or after death. But B doth not reign before death; for that is a time of suffering, not of reigning. And after death, he doth not reign in his successor C, for C is in the same state of suffering that his predecessor B was, and not of reigning; and the self-same is the case of D, &c. But haply you will say, that A did reign in his life-time a part of the thousand years; and B did reign in his life-time another part of the thousand years after A was dead; and C did reign another part after B was dead; and so of D, &c. But this evasion is nothing to the purpose; for this kind of reigning (if the time of our suffering might be called the time of our reigning) is more than a thousand years, yea, several thousand years; but the reigning John speaks of is just a thousand years, and neither more nor less. But, to speak the truth, there is no such kind of reigning as this evasion speaks of: for A did not reign in his life-time; for that was, as I said before, a time of suffering, not of reigning. The same may be said of B, C, and D. And therefore, A not reigning in his own person while he lived, nor in his successor B, nor B in his successor C, &c., reigns not at all, because

they reign not after A is dead. Again; the apostle doth not say, "if we suffer, we do reign," as if suffering and reigning went together; but "we *shall* reign," that is, after death, not before. So John here speaks of souls, *i. e.* dead men, that lived and reigned with Christ; not in successors, who themselves were sufferers while they lived, and not reigners, but in their own persons.

6. God promised to give the land of Canaan to Abraham, to Isaac, to Jacob; and they were to inherit it in their own persons, and not in their posterity only, as will appear from Gen. xiii. 15; Gen. xv. 7; Gen. xvii. 8; Gen. xxvi. 3; Gen. xxxv. 12; Exod. vi. 4, 8; Deut. i. 8; Deut. xi. 21; and Deut. xxx. 20. But lest the bare citing of the texts should not be enough to convince one that is prejudiced against this argument, I will, in a few words, take only one of the fore-cited Scriptures, and clear it from other glosses usually cast upon all such texts, leaving all the rest to the reader's search. Gen. xv. 7, 8: "And he said unto him, I am the Lord that brought thee out of Ur of the Chaldees, to give thee this land to inherit it. And he said, Lord God, whereby shall I know that I shall inherit it?" In which words, I conceive, these things are plain:

1. That it was God that took Abraham out of Ur of the Chaldees, and brought him into the land of Canaan. Now if it was God, then what he promises must be made good, for he is truth itself; and hath all power, so that it is impossible he should be frustrate in his ends, being also wisdom itself.

2. That God's end, in bringing Abraham out of Ur into Canaan, was to give him the land of Canaan to inherit it. For so the text plainly expresses.

3. That for the confirmation of Abraham's faith, God did promise, again and again, that he would give that land (not only to his posterity, but) to him to inherit.

4. That this promise was to be made good to Abraham living, not dead; for though God ever live to give, yet the dead cannot receive, but the living may.

5. That this promise was not made good to Abraham while he lived that life which he then had, Acts vii. 5: "He gave him none inheritance in it [viz. in the land], no, not so much as to set his foot on; yet he promised that he would give it to him for a possession, and [not only to him, but] to his seed [which seed came] after him."

6. That Abraham did understand the promise thus, and desired a confirmation of this faith, as appears by those words, "whereby shall I know that I shall inherit it?" He understood it not only of his posterity, but of himself, as is apparent.

7. That Abraham died in the persuasion and comfortable foresight of this promise; as appears, Heb. xi. 13: "These died in faith, not having received the [accomplishment of the] promises, but having seen [the accomplishment of] them [to be] afar off, and were persuaded of [the fulfilling of] them, and embraced them, and confessed that they were strangers," &c. John viii. 56.

8. That, therefore, Abraham must one day live

again, and inherit this promise of God. For, as I said, none of them (viz. neither Abraham, Isaac, nor Jacob) did inherit it in their own persons whilst they lived; as is plain, Heb. xi. 8, 9, 10, 13, 16. *Ergo*, they must live again one day to inherit it, not in successors, but in their own persons; for the promises were not made to their successors only, but to themselves in their own persons, as the fore-cited texts declare. And this is the meaning of our Saviour's argument, whereby he proves the resurrection of the dead (Matt. xxii. 32); which words (saith Mr. Mede) must be understood with a reference to the promise made to Abraham, Gen. xiii. 15, and xv. 7, and xvii. 8. To Isaac, Gen. xxvi. 3—to Jacob, Gen. xxxv. 12—to all these, Exod. vi. 4, 8; Deut. i. 8, and xi. 21, and xxx. 20. Now, he promiseth the land of Canaan not to their seed only, but to themselves; therefore they must one day live again to inherit the promised land, which hitherto they have not done. For that God that thus covenanted with them, covenanted not to make good his promise to them dead, but living: there is the strength of Christ's argument; and it is irrefragable, which otherwise would not infer any such conclusion. Certain it is, the divine conclusion is strong and unanswerable, and such as the multitude were astonished at it; but where is the irrefragability of it, if not in this?

These are the reasons I offer against living in successors, and reigning in successors; the which I submit to the trial of God's word, and the censure of those that are sober, and pious, and unbiased, and have studied the point.

FARTHER SCRIPTURES.

BUT let us proceed to see yet more Scriptures bearing witness to the truth in hand. Psalm lxxxix. 27: אֲנִי בְכוֹר אֶתְנַחֵז עָלֵיוֹן לְמַלְכִּי אֶרֶץ *Etiam ego primogenitum dabo eum excelsum regibus terræ.* Sic ad verbum sonat. "Also I will make him (my) first-born high to the kings of the earth," or "higher than," or "high in comparison of the kings of the earth." Not in heaven, where are to be no kings of the earth; but in the earth, where the kings of the earth are to be. And that this is chiefly to be understood of the time of Christ's second coming, Paul to the Hebrews teacheth us (Heb. i. 6): ὅταν δὲ πάλιν εἰσαγάγῃ τὸν πρωτότοκον εἰς τὴν οἰκουμένην, λέγει, Καὶ προσκυνησάτωσαν αὐτῷ πάντες ἄγγελοι Θεοῦ. "And again, when he bringeth his first-begotten into the world, he saith." So most translators and expositors turn it, as our English hath done, placing the particle "again" so as it may have reference to the verb "he saith;" as if it had been thus expressed: "And again he saith, when he bringeth in his first," &c. But the words in the Greek, as here is plain, are otherwise placed than in our English translation; word for word they run thus: "But when again he bringeth his first-begotten into the world, he saith," &c. Again, secondly (for yield me but the ordinary liberty of construction, and) the words will run thus: "But when he bringeth again his only-begotten into the world, he saith," &c.; "again," namely, in his second coming, with a manifest respect to this psalm. And so very

many interpret this text in this psalm: *Loquitur hic* (inquit Ribera, Com. in Heb. i. 6) *de secundo Christi adventu, cum ad judicandum veniet, quæ est secunda introductio in hunc mundum.* "He speaketh (saith Ribera, in his Commentary on Heb. i. 6) of the second coming of Christ, when he shall come to judge, which is his second bringing into this world." *Primo* (inquit Chrysostomus) *introducitur Christus in orbem per incarnationem passibilis et mortalis; iterum vero, sive secundo, gloriosus et impassibilis die judicii. Tunc enim Filium quasi inaugurabit, eumque mittet re ipsa in possessionem totius orbis terrarum* (ait Cornelius à Lapide). "Firstly (saith Chrysostom), Christ was brought into the world by his incarnation passible and mortal; but again, or secondly, glorious and impassible at the day of judgment." "For then (saith Cornelius à Lapide) he will, as it were, enthroned the Son, and send him in very deed into the possession of the whole earth." Yea, some that deny this reading and interpretation, do yet confess the words may be extended to that dignity and dominion which God shall give the Son over the whole world; in that he hath made him heir of all things, and given him "the uttermost parts of the earth for his possession," Psalm ii. 8. And the learned and godly Annotators on the English Bible deny not but that the words may be understood of Christ's second coming as well as his first.

See also Psalm xcvi. 1. Where it is to be noted, that though the psalm be without a title, not only in our English Bibles, but also in our Hebrew copies, yet the LXX. interpreters either,

doubtless, had then copies in which this title was prefixed to the psalm, or else had received it by tradition, and knew that the psalm was fitted to that time; and therefore they have prefixed this title: *Ψαλμὸς τῷ Δαυίδ, ὅτε ἡ γῆ αὐτοῦ καθίστατο. Psalmus David, quando terra ejus restituta est.* "A Psalm of David, when the earth is restored." As if the whole psalm were made and fitted to that time. And truly, he that will seriously read and consider this psalm, will see, I think, that time pointed at, if not plainly deciphered and described. Thus the Psalmist begins: *יהוה מלך חגל הארץ ישמחו א״ים רבים* "The Lord reigneth, let the earth rejoice; let the multitude of isles be glad thereof." Which words seem clear for the reigning of Christ in his second coming; for the Psalmist speaks expressly in the following words of those things that precede it, "A fire goes before him, and burns up all his enemies round about him," &c., with a clear and evident reference to the Armageddon battle, and that conflagration which at that time shall burn up and consume his enemies. Then (to omit all other passages), at the eighth verse he speaks plainly of the calling of the Jews, or called at that time: "Zion heard, and was glad; and the daughters of Judah rejoiced, because of thy judgments, O Lord." Again, ver. 9: "For thou, Lord, art high above all the earth: thou art exalted far above all gods." This hath never yet been; but shall then be, when he shall take to himself his great power and reign, and all nations shall serve and obey him. Again, that is clear, ver. 6: "All the people see his

glory;" and ver. 7: "Worship him, all ye gods." Paul to the Hebrews, in the place before cited, puts this out of all doubt to be fulfilled in Christ's second coming, Heb. i. 6: "Worship him, all ye angels:" כל אֱלֹהִים "all ye gods," is rendered by the LXX. πάντες ἄγγελοι, "all ye angels," which rendering the apostle follows and approves. And thus Arnobius interprets and applies this whole psalm.

So Isaiah, xlix. 8: "I will give thee for a covenant of the people, to establish the earth, and to cause to inherit the desolate heritages," namely, in a spiritual manner, in the restoring the kingdom of Israel, or in the restitution of all things at Christ's second coming,—ver. 9: "That thou mayest say to the prisoners, Go forth; and to them that are in darkness, Shew yourselves," viz. in the resurrection of the just;—and ver. 10: "They shall not hunger not thirst; neither shall the heat of the sun smite them: for he that hath mercy on them shall lead them, even by the springs of water shall he guide them," viz. after the destruction of antichrist. All which did begin somewhat to be fulfilled in Christ's first coming; but because they far exceed that mean and low condition of Christ here on earth, therefore they shall be perfectly and completely fulfilled in Christ's second coming; and that upon earth, after the final destruction of antichrist, at the sounding of the seventh trumpet, contemporary with which are the innumerable company of white-robed, palm-bearing triumphers of all nations, kindred, and people. Concerning whom the very same words of the prophet are used,

and that in the same sense, Rev. vii. 16, 17 : " They shall hunger no more, nor thirst any more ; neither shall the sun light on them, nor any heat. For the Lamb which is in the midst of them shall feed them, and lead them to living fountains of waters, and wipe away all tears from their eyes."

See also Zech. ix. 10 : " And I will cut off the chariot from Ephraim, and the horse from Jerusalem, and the battle-bow shall be cut off : and he shall speak peace unto the heathen : and his dominion shall be from sea even to sea, and from the river even to the ends of the earth." And chap. xiii. 2 : " And it shall come to pass in that day, saith the Lord of hosts, that I will cut off the names of the idols out of the land, and they shall no more be remembered : and also I will cause the prophets and the unclean spirits to pass out of the land." And chap. xiv. 9 : " And the Lord shall be king over all the earth : and in that day shall be one Lord, and his name one"—viz. in the day of the second coming of Christ. I only name these texts, as being so clear and obvious that they need no explication.

Also Matt. xix. 28 : " In the regeneration when the Son of man shall sit upon the throne of his glory, ye shall sit upon thrones judging (*i. e.* governing) the twelve tribes of Israel." Calvin understands these words *de renovato ecclesie statu*, of the renewed or restored state of the church. And so do others, of the new heavens and new earth, spoken of 2 Pet. iii. 13 ; and the world to come, Heb. ii. 5. Others, of the resurrection of the dead ; which interpretation is ap-

proved by Pareus; also allowed by the learned Annotators on the Bible, whose words upon the place are these: "He meaneth, that in the absolute renovation in the resurrection they should sit upon thrones," &c. They that follow this sense read the text thus, by an alteration of points:—"Ye which have followed me shall in the regeneration (when the Son of man shall sit upon the throne of his glory) sit upon twelve thrones, judging," &c. The Syriac version very much favours this, both by reading so pointed, and also in the version of the words; for thus they turn it: *Amen dico vobis, quod vos qui venistis post me, ܠܕܝܢܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ in seculo novo, quum sedebit Filius hominis, &c.* "Verily, I say unto you, that ye who have come after me in the new age, when the Son of man shall sit," &c. The Persian hath it, *in novo mundo*, "in the new world;" the Arabic, *in generatione ventura*, "in the generation to come;" the Ethiopic, *in secunda generatione*, "in the second generation." All these secretly hint (as Chrysostom well observes) the reign of Christ with his people, when he comes out of his far country, to the ordering and management of his kingdom. See also Luke i. 32: "The Lord *shall* give unto him the throne of his father David." These words, I confess, have been interpreted, by some, of Christ's spiritual reign in the hearts of his people, without a personal. But it seems to me, that a spiritual, without a personal, should not be here meant: for,

1. David had no such reign himself, nor Solo-

mon his son, nor any of his seed; yet we read that Solomon his son did sit upon the throne of David his father, 1 Kings ii. 12, 24. And what man will say, that by "throne" is meant the spiritual reign of Solomon without a personal? And if it be not so meant when it is spoken of Solomon, why should any think it to be so meant when it is spoken of Christ?

2. The spiritual reign of Christ belongs to him as he is God, but to sit on the throne of David belongs to him as man; as Acts ii. 30: "Therefore David being a prophet, and knowing that God had sworn with an oath to him, that of the fruit of his loins, according to the flesh, he would raise up Christ to sit on his throne," &c. The throne of David is one thing, and his spiritual reign another.

3. When Christ is called the son of David, as Matt. xxii. 42, no man will say that thereby is meant the Son of God. No more ought any man to think, that when Christ is said to sit on the throne of David, that thereby is meant the spiritual throne of God; for, doubtless, they are two distinct things.

4. Christ did reign spiritually, and that in the heart of Mary herself, before this prophecy was revealed to her: but Christ did not at that time sit on the throne of David, but the angel told her he should sit on the throne of David hereafter. And therefore this spiritual reign is one thing, and the throne of David another.

5. The spiritual reign of Christ is in reference to spirituals; but his sitting on the throne of David is to order it with judgment and justice.

Isaiah ix. 7: "Of the increase of his government and peace there shall be no end, upon the throne of David, and upon his kingdom, to order it, and to stablish it with judgment and with justice from henceforth, even for ever." So Jer. xxiii. 5: "Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that I will raise unto David a righteous Branch, and a king shall reign and prosper, and shall execute judgment and justice in the earth." This seems to imply some other thing and matter.

6. The throne of David is peculiar to Christ alone, and not common to all the three Persons; but the spiritual reign of Christ in the hearts of men is common to all the three Persons, and not peculiar to Christ alone: therefore the throne of David is one thing, and the spiritual reign of Christ another.

See also Matt. xx. 20, 21: "Then came to him the mother of Zebedee's children with her sons, worshipping him, and desiring a certain thing of him:" viz. that her "two sons might sit, the one on his right hand, the other on his left, in his kingdom." Now, what is meant by this kingdom, but the reign of Christ on earth? therefore they that be of this mind are of the same faith the apostles were of. But you will say, was Christ of the same faith too? I answer, it will appear that he was, if we well weigh his answer to this request, ver. 23: "Jesus answered and said, To sit on my right hand and on my left, is not mine to give; but it shall be given to them for whom it is prepared." In which words we may observe what it is that Christ denies, and what it is that he grants them. Now that

which Christ denies is contained in the first words, "To sit on my right hand and on my left, is not mine to give," *i. e.* "without my Father's leave;" or, "it is not mine to give to every one that asks it," or "asked at that time;" or, "I have no commission from my Father to give precedences in my kingdom to those that affect them." But what is it that he grants? That is contained in the next words: "But it shall be given to them for whom it is prepared of my Father." In which words our Lord Jesus Christ seems plainly to insinuate and hint these three things:—

1. That such a kingdom as they speak of is prepared of his Father—namely, a kingdom on earth; such as our Saviour had promised in the former chapter, in which "the twelve disciples should sit upon twelve thrones, judging," &c. And such a kingdom they meant; and their suit was for the first and second place in it.

2. He grants that some shall sit on his right hand, and on his left, in his kingdom.

3. That it is appointed of his Father who those men shall be. These seem clear.

See also Luke xix. 12: "A certain nobleman went into a far country to receive for himself a kingdom, and to return." Who is this nobleman but Christ incarnate? And what is meant by his going into a far country, but his ascension into heaven? And wherefore is he gone thither but to receive for himself a kingdom? Now where is this kingdom to be? not in heaven, for when he hath received it, he must return. And what is meant by his return but his return to

the earth again, to the exercise, ordering, and government of his kingdom? For Job xix. 25: "He shall stand at the latter day upon the earth;" Zech. xiii. 4: "And his feet shall stand in that day upon the Mount of Olives, which is before Jerusalem on the east;" Jer. xxiii. 5: "He shall reign and prosper, and shall execute judgment and justice in the earth;" Rev. v. 10: "And we with him shall reign on the earth." I confess, what they may do to others I know not; but to me (for that little knowledge the Lord of his goodness hath been pleased to impart to a poor worm) methinks they are very clear and perspicuous.

See also that text, Acts i. 7: "Lord, wilt thou at this time restore the kingdom to Israel?" viz. what was promised by the prophets. The Lord answers, "It is not for you to know the times and seasons, which the Father hath put in his own power." In which, I conceive, he plainly insinuates these three things:—

1. That the kingdom promised is one day to be restored to Israel.

2. That there is a time appointed for it by the Father; viz. "the time of the restitution of all things (Acts iii. 21), which God had spoken by the mouth of all his holy prophets since the world began." All prophesied and spake of this.

3. That the time when this shall be is known only to God, as proper to him, not to be communicated to any creature. So also before in Luke's Gospel, chap. xxi., our Lord Jesus Christ hath taught us, that the time of his second com-

ing in glory is the time of the redemption of Israel promised, or the promised kingdom, which, after the winter of the cross and affliction, should come; which he calls a certain summer (ver. 28 and 31).

Nextly, see Luke xxii. 29, 30: "Ye are they that have continued with me in my temptation; and I appoint unto you a kingdom," &c. Now, where is this kingdom? not in heaven; there is no eating and drinking in heaven, no judging the twelve tribes of Israel: therefore it is on the earth, in the time of Christ's second coming.

Let us also take notice of that passage, Acts xv. 14: Simeon hath declared how God at first did visit the Gentiles, to take out of them a people for his name; and ver. 15. To this agree the words of the prophets (which are spoken of the first calling of the Gentiles before the restoring of the kingdom of Israel); as it is written (viz. in Amos ix. 11, 12, especially, from whom alone we may judge of the meaning of the rest of the prophets), ver. 16: "After this [viz. after their first calling] I will return, and build again the tabernacle of David, which is fallen down; and I will build again the remains thereof, and will set it up." Where it is carefully to be marked, that the word *posthæc*, afterward, is not to be found in the prophet Amos; but is added here by the Spirit of God for declaration-sake, with manifest relation to that first calling, that we might certainly know that this should come to pass after the first calling of the Gentiles, in the very return of the Lord Jesus Christ to his kingdom, which is called the kingdom of David,

Jer. xxiii. 5, Ezek. xxxvii. 14, 24, Hos. iii. 5: see the words—I set them not down, lest these sheets should swell. And that which follows, both in Amos and in this text, very much helps this exposition, viz. ver. 17: “That the residue of men might seek after the Lord, and all the Gentiles upon whom my name is called:” viz. upon whom my name is called in the first calling of the Gentiles; who, as I said before, were but few in comparison. But the second calling will be far more universal, when the devil shall be bound up from seducing the nations any more, as formerly he had done; then shall the residue of men come in, and all the Gentiles, as the text saith, be converted to God.

This is that kingdom, joined with the appearance of Christ, ready to judge the world, of which St. Paul to Timothy makes mention, 2 Tim. iv. 1: “I charge thee before God, and the Lord Jesus Christ, who shall judge the quick and the dead at his appearing and his kingdom.” His appearance is personal, for he appears to judge, and then doth this his kingdom *κατ’ ἐξοχὴν* begin, and dures the time of his stay, which John tells us (Rev. xx. 4) is a thousand years; and then comes the second or general resurrection (which is another order in the resurrection), and the general and last judgment, when, according to this self-same apostle, 1 Cor. xv. 24 to 28: “Jesus Christ (the last enemy being destroyed) shall deliver up the kingdom to his Father, that he may be subject to him who subdued all things to himself, that God may be all in all.” So far is he then from being said to enter upon any new

kingdom, that then he delivers up the old. That kingdom, therefore, which neither shall be before the appearance of our Lord, nor after the last judgment, is necessarily to be included between them. This is not nothing.

See also those words, Heb. ii. 5 : οὐ γὰρ ἀγγέλοις ὑπέταξε τὴν οἰκουμένην τὴν μέλλουσαν, περὶ ἧς λαλοῦμεν. "For unto the angels hath he not put in subjection the world to come, whereof we speak." Οἰκουμένην enim terra est, non cælum. For this word οἰκουμένη, which we translate *world*, is earth, not heaven. But, you will say, where did the apostle speak in his preceding discourse of this οἰκουμένη, *world to come*, that he should say, "whereof we speak?" I answer, in ver. 6 of the preceding chapter: ὅταν δὲ πάλιν εἰσαγάγῃ τὸν πρωτότοκον εἰς τὴν οἰκουμένην λέγει, &c. i. e. "But when he shall bring *again* his only-begotten Son into the world, he saith," &c. For those things which, out of the book of the Psalms to the end of the chapter, are cited (concerning the worship of angels, of his sceptre of righteousness, of the renewing of the world, and of the treading of his enemies under his feet), are all, if we credit the apostle, to be referred to the second coming of Christ. But that admonition which is contained in the four first verses of this chapter is to be read as a parenthesis; the which being ended, the apostle, in the fifth verse, returns again to his former proposition, and more largely handles the prerogative of human nature above the angels, which he had disputed. And amongst other things saith he, "unto the angels hath he not put in subjection the (οἰκουμένη) world

to come, whereof we speak ;" which is to be, when God brings again his only-begotten Son into the (*οικουμένην*) world. I have here but one word more to add (for I spake before of the strange transposition of the words, chap. i. ver. 6), that *εἰσαγάγῃ*, *to bring in*, hath a future signification, forso-much as it is the second aorist of the subjunctive mood.

Peter also (2 Pet. iii. 10) speaks (if I be not deceived) clearly to this: "Behold, the day of the Lord cometh." How? "As a thief in the night," *i.e.* suddenly; yet shall not as a thief disappear the very same night. "In that day the heavens shall pass away with a noise, and the elements melt," &c., which shall not be done *simul et semel*, together and at once, as is manifest in the words dissolved, melt, burnt up, which require an order of time for their accomplishment. But when that is done (ver. 13), we expect a "new heaven and a new earth, according to his promise (which is in Isaiah lxxv. 17), wherein dwells righteousness." Mark it, I pray you, a new heaven and a new earth is expected in the second coming of the Messiah. But what is meant by heaven and earth in the prophetic style, when they lose their literal signification? Surely nothing else but the church and commonwealth. And when it is said that we look for these new, it is in one word, *καινή οικουμένη μέλλουσα*, *a new world to come*; or in two, *καινοὶ οὐρανοὶ*, *new heavens*, *i.e.* new churches; and *καινή γῆ*, *a new earth*, *i.e.* a new commonwealth. All is new; all old church and commonwealth fashions pass away (Rev. xxi. 1), and there will

be new churches and new commonwealths, wherein dwell righteousness. And truly it must needs be a new world. Ecclesiastical and civil polities must needs be new, when Satan, who did rule, is bound, and Christ, who was rejected, reigns; when righteousness dwells where sin did rage; when all tears shall be wiped away, and there shall be no more crying, sorrow, or pain.

Lastly, the apostle John, not only in that 20th chapter, of which I have already spoken, but also elsewhere frequently in the Revelation, speaks clearly of this glorious kingdom of Christ upon earth. Of those many places I shall name a few. See, therefore, Rev. ii. 26: "He that overcometh, and keepeth my works unto the end, to him will I give power over the nations." Surely, this refers not to heaven, but to this time of Christ's kingdom we are speaking of. So we have that which is as plain as words can make it, Rev. v. 10: "We shall reign on the earth." What can be the meaning of this? is it not what Christ promised, Matt. v. 5: "Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth?" and what shall be fulfilled when the kingdom is given to the saints, and Christ shall reign. So Rev. xi. 15: "In the days of the seventh trumpet (which is a trumpet of consummation) these voices were heard: Now all the kingdoms of the world are become the kingdoms of the Lord and his Christ, and he shall reign for ever and ever." And ver. 17: "Thou hast taken to thee thy great power, and hast reigned." And that you may know that this reign and kingdom is circumscribed within the great day of judgment, he

tells you, ver. 18: "That this is the time of the dead, that they should be judged, and that," saith the text, "thou shouldest give reward unto thy servants the prophets, and to the saints, and to them that fear thy name, small and great, and shouldest destroy them that destroy the earth:" also Rev. xix. 6, speaking of the same time, the church breaks out in a song of joy, saying, "Hallelujah, for the Lord God omnipotent reigneth. The marriage of the Lamb is come, and his wife hath made herself ready." Also when John tells us (Rev. xx. 4), that the saints "lived and reigned with Christ a thousand years," we must ever remember (which is the only thing I shall here add), that it is one thing for Christ to reign in his saints, and another for the saints to reign with Christ. The former was all the time of the beast; the latter is not to be till the beast be destroyed, and Satan bound, and the Messiah come again.

REASONS FOR THE INTERPRETATION.

THOUGH it were easy to be almost infinite in the proof of the *ὅτι* of this point, yet knowing that as some will think I have been too large, so others will yet think all too little to convince them, I shall therefore only suspend any further proof, until I have given you some reasons of this interpretation of these and such-like texts; and answered some of those common objections that against this are usually objected, unless these may be so ordered as to contain yet further

proof. And first, I shall offer these following reasons of this interpretation, and why I choose to believe this to be a truth, however by many much decried:—

1. Because all those places of Scripture in the old prophets, which foretel a certain, glorious, and happy estate of the church upon earth, should never be fulfilled here upon earth, unless there be a long tract of time appointed for the fulfilling of them, wherein antichrist being conquered, and the devil chained up in the bottomless pit, the saints might live safely, in the enjoyment of all spiritual and heavenly delights. Let us see, amongst many, two or three Scriptures for this. Isaiah lx. 11 to the end: “Therefore thy gates shall be open continually; they shall not be shut day nor night; that men may bring unto thee the forces of the Gentiles, and that their kings may be brought. For the nation and kingdom that will not serve thee shall perish; yea, those nations shall be utterly cut off. The sons also of them that afflicted thee shall come bending to thee; and all they that despised thee shall bow down themselves at the soles of thy feet; and they shall call thee, The city of the Lord, The Zion of the Holy One of Israel. I will make thee an eternal excellency, a joy of many generations. Thou shalt also suck the milk of the Gentiles, and shalt suck the breast of kings; and thou shalt know that I the Lord am thy Saviour and thy Redeemer, the mighty One of Jacob. I will also make thy officers peace, and thy exactors righteousness. Violence shall no more be heard in thy land, wasting nor de-

struction within thy borders; but thou shalt call thy walls Salvation, and thy gates Praise. The sun shall be no more thy light by day; neither for brightness shall the moon give light unto thee: but the Lord God shall be unto thee an everlasting light, and thy God thy glory. Thy sun shall no more go down; neither shall thy moon withdraw itself; for the Lord shalt be thine everlasting light, and the days of thy mourning shall be ended. Thy people also shall be all righteous: they shall inherit the land for ever, the branch of my planting, the work of my hands, that I may be glorified. A little one shall become a thousand, and a small one a strong nation: I the Lord will hasten it in his time." Isaiah lxxv. 17 to the end: "For, behold, I create new heavens and a new earth; and the former shall not be remembered, nor come into mind. But be you glad and rejoice for ever in that which I create: for, behold, I create Jerusalem a rejoicing, and her people a joy. And I will rejoice in Jerusalem, and joy in my people: and the voice of weeping shall be no more heard in her, nor the voice of crying. There shall be no more thence an infant of days, nor an old man that hath not filled his days: for as the days of a tree are the days of my people, and mine elect shall long enjoy the work of their hands. The wolf and the lamb shall feed together, and the lion shall eat straw like the bullock. They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain, saith the Lord." Jer. xxiii. 5: "Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that I will raise unto David a righteous Branch, and a king shall reign

and prosper, and shall execute judgment and justice in the earth. In his days Judah shall be saved, and Israel shall dwell safely: and this is his name whereby he shall be called, The Lord our Righteousness." Jer. xxxii. 37 to the end, see the words; also Hosea iii. 5: "Afterward shall the children of Israel return, and seek the Lord their God, and David their king; and shall fear the Lord and his goodness in the latter days." This is said of Israel after many days, and in the latter days. See also Ezek. xxxvii. 11, 12, 13, 14, and ver. 20, and so on to the end: "And the sticks whereon thou writest shall be in thine hand before their eyes. And say unto them, Thus saith the Lord God: Behold, I will take the children of Israel from among the heathen, whither they be gone, and I will gather them on every side, and bring them into their own land: and I will make them one nation in the land upon the mountains of Israel; and one king shall be king to them all: and they shall be no more two nations, neither shall they be divided into two kingdoms any more at all: neither shall they defile themselves any more with idols, nor with their detestable things. And David my servant shall be a king over them; and they shall all have one shepherd: they shall also walk in my judgments, and observe my statutes and do them. And they shall dwell in the land that I have given unto Jacob my servant, wherein your fathers have dwelt; and they shall dwell therein, even they, and their children, and their children's children for ever; and my servant David shall be their prince for ever. Moreover I will make

a covenant of peace with them; it shall be an everlasting covenant with them. My tabernacle also shall be with them, yea, I will be their God, and they shall be my people. And the heathen shall know that I the Lord do sanctify Israel, when my sanctuary shall be in the midst of them for evermore." See also Mic. iv. 1 to end of ver. 7; Zech. xiv. 14 to the end; see the words. In which places, though there be not an express mention of a thousand years, yet as it is clear the things therein contained were never yet fulfilled, so they require a long tract of time upon earth for the fulfilling of them; especially when Isaiah minds us of a child an hundred years old, and of the days of a tree: which words (saith Justin Martyr) do secretly hint the thousand years. Certainly it was reserved for John, who was the last of the prophets, and writ last, to make express mention of the time, how long it should be, to wit, a thousand years, and give light to all the prophets. And I verily believe that he that will be (that I may give it you in their own words), as the Syrians phrase it, **تَلْمِذٌ فِي خَيْمَةِ الزَّمَانِ**; i. e. *discipulus in tabernaculo temporis*, "a disciple or scholar in the tabernacle of time," shall understand those prophets, and see clearly mysteries contained in them, better than ever we have done.

2. Because all the prophets do chiefly prophesy of the kingdom of the Messiah upon his second coming; as appears Acts iii. 21: "Whom the heavens [speaking of Christ] must receive until the times of the restitution of all things, which

God hath spoken of by the mouth of all his holy prophets since the world began." So Amos ix. 11, with Acts xv. 15: "Unto this agree the words of the prophets; as it is written, After this [viz. after their first conversion] I will return, and build again the tabernacle of David, which is fallen down," viz. in the second coming of the Messiah. So Isaiah lix. 20: "And the Redeemer shall come to Zion, and unto them that turn from transgression in Jacob, saith the Lord." Who would have taken this for a cogent proof of what we have in hand, since this seems to fall so far short of those sublime expressions which are to be found in many other places, both of this and almost all the rest of the prophets, if the apostle Paul had not so applied it, Rom. xi. 25, 26: "So all Israel shall be saved, as it is written," and so quotes the words before cited? So John tells us (speaking of the finishing of the mystery of God, and the seventh trumpet sounding, Rev. x. 7), "that all is as he hath declared to his servants the prophets." Verily, all those transcendent expressions in the prophets, which hitherto by too, too many have been very strangely referred to Christ's first low and mean appearance in his humiliation, ought to be referred to, and never yet were nor shall be fulfilled but at the time of his second coming in exaltation, and gloriously in his majesty to reign. And with the glorious brightness of this his second coming shall the eyes of the Jews be opened,* who hitherto had been so dazzled that they scarce could entertain

* Zech. xii. 10: "And they shall look upon me whom they have pierced, and they shall mourn for him," &c.

into their thoughts his first low and obscure coming; yea, the prophets themselves, through the glory and majesty thereof, suffered a kind of ecstasy or rapture, which occasioned, as it were, when they spake of Christ and of his coming, a leaping presently from the matters of his first to the things of his second coming, as is easy to observe in the reading of all their prophecies.

3. Because, unless this be believed and held, many arguments will be taken from the Christians, whereby they may convince the Jews of their obstinate infidelity, and bring them to conversion. For they have so drunk in these principles, and sucked the milk of them from all their teachers and predecessors (viz. that the times of the Messiah will be times of righteousness, peace and blessedness, knowledge, and all joys, and that in great fulness; and when the Scriptures also are so apposite for them, and many texts otherwise unanswerable), that without some competent satisfaction herein, we have found by experience, and are like to find, they are not to be dealt withal, nor will ever think of coming over to us. A Jewish woman in London said lately to a friend, "That your Messiah," he speaking to her of Christ, "is not the true Messiah; for when he cometh, there will be great peace and love, the wolf shall dwell with the lamb, 'none shall hurt or destroy in all his holy mountain,' &c., whereas you Christians are divided, hate and devour, hurt and destroy one another." "I leave it," saith that reverend mystery-searcher, Mr. Mede, "to the judgment of learned men, and men well able to judge in such-like mysteries in divinity, whe-

ther this be not the best and easiest way to deal with the Jews — not to wrest those plain prophecies touching things appertaining to this last and glorious coming of Christ to his first coming ; for while we do so, the Jews laugh and scorn at us, and are hardened in their infidelity." The apostle Peter takes this course to convert the Jews, Acts iii. 19: "Repent," saith he, "and be converted, that your sins may be blotted out, when the times of refreshing shall come from the presence of the Lord ; and he shall send Jesus Christ, which was preached unto you : whom the heavens must receive until the times of the restitution of all things, of which God hath spoken by the mouth of all the holy prophets since the world began."

4. Because, unless this opinion of Christ's millenary kingdom, and reign with his saints a thousand years, be granted and received, nothing of certainty can be brought concerning the true and genuine sense of the 20th chapter of the Revelation, and that in the 7th of Daniel, and many other of the texts before named, wherein a man's conscience can safely rest ; which, amongst some others, Pareus himself confesseth : who saith, the more he studied it, the less he found out whereby to untie the knot which had so tortured all interpreters ; only this he saith he found, that it is more easy to tell what this thousand years are not, than what they are. And a little after he saith, "I do not, therefore, here promise you, that, after all others, I shall so untie this knot of a thousand years, as to satisfy all men in this millenary reign of the martyrs and saints

with Christ." The reason is given by a learned writer: because he left the letter of the text, and did turn the whole discourse to an allegorical sense, without any sufficient reason or necessity at all. It hath, doubtless, been the unhappy fate of many, by their learning, in their expositions, to make plain Scriptures dark, and difficult texts far more difficult than before.

5. Because it seems altogether unreasonable to go about to interpret that whole place in the 20th chapter of the Revelation figuratively, because of one or two figurative expressions in it, which yet have an easy explication without any figure. In a plain sentence we may sometimes meet with one trope or other; but it doth not therefore necessarily follow, that all and every word in the sentence must be so taken, nor is that reasonable. *Propter unius verbi translationem, non totus locus figurate accipiendus est*, saith Austin. Neither, indeed, is this prophecy of a thousand years proposed under representations and pictures, as many others are in the Apocalypse; but it is declared in as clear and elegant words as you can possibly imagine, be it by the Holy Ghost never so really meant.

6. Because this interpretation of a thousand years, after the Armageddon battle, and the destruction of antichrist, in Christ's second coming, doth best agree with all those Scriptures which speak of this subject, which consider a long tract of time in it, as well as in his first coming, as was shewed before. Now, we are not to think, that because the Lord Jesus Christ shall come as a thief, or like the lightning, that therefore he shall

presently like a thief, or like the lightning, vanish or disappear. Nor because his second coming is joined with the final resurrection and last judgment, properly and strictly so called, therefore they shall be done presently, together, and all at once; but every thing shall be fulfilled in its own order and time. In a process of time, sensibly and by degrees, will the Lord proceed in the restitution of all things; after the same manner as his proceeding was in the creation of all things, though he could have created all things in one and the same moment: God will never huddle his works on heaps.

7. Because to interpret the first resurrection, of a spiritual resurrection from sin, is altogether new and unheard of, and unknown to all orthodox antiquity, and that almost till Austin's time; and was first of all found out by Tyconius the Donatist, of whom Austin borrowed it; whom afterwards Primasius followed, Gregory, and others. Yea, they that deny this interpretation deny that which was of old denied by the heretics against the orthodox, as it doth plainly appear from Justin Martyr in his *Dialogue with Trypho the Jew*; which dialogue is set down at large by Mr. Mede, at the latter end of his *Commentary upon the Revelation*, whither I refer the reader. But to clear the thing beyond doubt, consider, that though the death in sin may be called *a* death, yet it is not, nor any where in Scripture called *the* death, either first or second. If that death in sin be the death, then it is the first death, and the life of grace the first resurrection; and then all that have a part in this

should be freed from the second death, which second death, by this reckoning, must be the death of the body: but that we see is false, for the godly die the death of the body as well as the wicked. Therefore let us give way to the plain truth, which is in a word thus:—The first death is the death of the body, or a bodily death; the second death is the death of the soul, or the soul's everlasting punishment in hell: and the first resurrection, or the first order in the resurrection (for I speak not here of Christ and those that arose then), is the resurrection of the body, or a bodily resurrection of the saints; and they that have part in this are none but such as are holy, and by this their being within the compass of the first order in the resurrection, or being raised in the first resurrection, they are beyond all fear of condemnation in hell, which is the second death. Therefore the text says, "Blessed and holy is he that hath part in the first resurrection, on such the second death hath no power:" which resurrection, as we see, cannot be meant of the life of grace; but must be meant of that corporal resurrection which is opposed to a bodily death, or the death of the body, and not to the death in sin.

8. Because, although Christ's economical or mediatory kingdom is but one in regard of its essential form, yet it is, indeed, twofold in respect of its accidental form. For Christ's kingdom, which is humble, low, and cometh not with observation, and is much accompanied with the cross, and persecuted, according to his first coming, which was humble and low, to his very pas-

sion, is one thing; and his glorious kingdom is another, which comes with observation, as lightning shining upon the earth, and in great peace and security, according to the nature and condition of his second coming (Luke xvii. 20 to the 26th).

9. It seems altogether absurd for us to think that Christ should come in glory and majesty to the ordering and exercise of his kingdom (*his kingdom* κατ' ἐξοχήν, 2 Tim. iv. 1), and presently the very same day give over his kingdom again (1 Cor. xv. 24, and so on), delivering it up to the Father. The king of such a kingdom might not unfitly be compared to Jonas his gourd, which was a shade to his head, and protected him from the heat, so that he very much rejoiced in it; but that joy was but a short joy, for it sprung up in a day, and it withered in a day. What other men can, I know not, but I cannot think that the Lord Jesus Christ should descend from heaven with all his saints, accompanied with glorious angels, enter upon his kingdom (κατ' ἐξοχήν, as I said before), order it with judgment and justice, executing righteousness in the earth; compose a glorious metropolis of those sinless, sorrowless, joyful, immortal saints, who descended and came with him from heaven; and cause the rest, who are godly in all the world (who are called the nations that are saved, Rev. xxi. 24; for then there will be a very great and unparallelable conversion, but yet in another state,) to walk in the light thereof, and take their directions thence;—will he thus make all things new, and cause things old to pass away? had the

saints an eye to look through all those sad and sharp calamities of a thousand and six or seven hundred years' continuance unto this time, as they do? (Rev. v. 10) did all the prophets foresee and speak of these glorious times and things? did the apostles make so many queries, and Christ so many promises, referring to this time and state?—I say, shall all this be, and many things more that might be named; and all but for a day, and then to end? I can never, I freely confess, believe it.

10. Because the church is rightly divided into militant and triumphant: but this triumphant is one partial, another total; one inchoate, another consummate. The faithful now triumph in heaven in respect of their souls; they shall also triumph in respect of their bodies: this triumph is inchoate here upon earth, and consummate in heaven. And so great is the affection and inclination of the blessed souls in heaven unto their bodies to which they were united, that they had rather be with them in some kind of conflict (though then there will be none), than without them in full and perfect triumph.

11. Because they who interpret the precedent chapter (viz. Rev. xix.), of some begun destruction of antichrist preceding Christ's second coming, but not of the full and final destruction of antichrist at Christ's second coming, do flatly contradict the plain texts of Scripture, Rev. xvi. 14, 15; Rev. xvii. 14; Rev. xix. 18, 20, 21: and do directly oppose themselves to all orthodox antiquity, yea, to Hierom and Austin themselves,

to whom they are wont every where to appeal, even in this very controversy itself.

12. Because this interpretation of the reign of the martyrs, or of the saints (for I take them for one and the same), and of Christ upon earth, is no more incident to some labyrinths and *άλυτα*, than some other interpretations concerning the second and last resurrection and judgment: which opinion, notwithstanding, is no whit to be rejected, because by Epicures and some philosophers, and Stoics, and others, that have always been exploded as fabulous and false, and are by many others derided, as loaden (especially, as they think, who have not well digested and studied it) with many absurdities. In so great a mystery it will be sufficient to know the truth in the main, and the matter in general, and not curiously to search into the reason of every circumstance and punctilio. The matter is grounded upon the undeniable sequel of the apocalyptic order,* and consent of other Scriptures, especially prophetic, which do most wonderfully confirm the same.

OBJECTIONS ANSWERED.

It is known to a proverb, that one fool may object more than ten wise men can presently answer; yet I freely profess, I find this truth so plain (*sidere, non de modo loquimur*), that I

* See Mede's *Clavis Apocalyptica*, part ii. synchr. 4, 5, 6, 7, where the 1000 years are placed after the ruin of the beast, and proved to follow it.

know not any thing that can be objected, which admits not of a very fair and plain solution. Those objections, therefore, which are usually urged, and may perchance be in the minds of some, I shall, with the reader's good leave, speak next to with all brevity.

Object. 1. How can this principle hold good? for doth not Christ tell us that his "kingdom is not of this world?" (John xviii. 36.) To this objection I answer:

1. That these words are to be understood of his first, and not of his second coming.

2. It is not of this world *ratione originis*, in respect of the original, but it is in the world in respect of place. "If my kingdom," saith our Saviour, "were of this world [understand it, as he there speaks it, of that his first coming], then would my servants fight, that I should not be delivered to the Jews: but now is my kingdom not from hence;" *i. e.* of this world, as he said before. Note, also, the word *now*; "now," or at this time, "my kingdom is not from hence," or, of this world.

3. It is not of this world *ratione conditionis*, in respect of its condition. Thus the disciples and Christ himself were not of this world. John viii. 23: "Ye are [speaking of the carnal Jews] from beneath, I am from above; ye are of this world, I am not of this world." John xv. 19: "If ye were of the world [Christ speaks it to his disciples], the world would love his own; but because ye are not of the world, but I have chosen you out of the world, therefore the world hateth you." So John xvii. 14: "The world hateth

them [viz. the disciples of Christ] because they are not of the world, even as I am not of the world." And they are not of the world *quantum ad affectionem mundanam*, as to worldly affection; but they are in the world *quantum ad corporalem præsentiam*, as to corporal presence. We say the like of Christ's kingdom, *est terrenum ratione loci, cæleste ratione conditionis*, it is earthly in respect of place, it is heavenly in respect of condition; place and condition are two things.

4. It is not of *this* world,—so the words run, ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου τούτου,—that is, of the world that now is, but of the world that is to come. For the world that now is shall be changed, and in that respect shall cease to be, and another world shall be erected, or come in place, called in Scripture "the world to come;" and in that world to come shall that kingdom of Christ be (Heb. ii. 5, and 2 Pet. iii. 13; Rev. xxi. 1).

Object. 2. But it is said (Job xiv. 12), that "man lieth down, and riseth not: till the heavens be no more, they shall not awake, nor be raised out of their sleep." If this be so, how can this doctrine of the millennium hold good?

Answer 1. This text is to be understood of the ordinary course of God's providence; man lieth down, and riseth not, in the ordinary course of God's providence, till the heavens be no more; but if God will have Lazarus, the widow's son, and others, raised before by a power extraordinary, this text of Scripture doth not contradict or say against it. But this comes not close to our purpose.

2. This text of Scripture is to be understood of a resurrection to this present life: as we may see it more plainly expressed, Job vii. 9, 10: "He that goeth down to the grave shall come up no more [*i. e.* to the enjoyment of this present life and possessions; for, he adds]; he shall return no more to his house, neither shall his place know him any more." He shall not return, as Lazarus did, to live again a natural life after his resurrection, and die again. But the resurrection we speak of in this place is to another life; and they that have a part in it do not die again, as Lazarus did, nor do they live a natural or mortal life as he did, but are as the angels of God in heaven; as Christ tells us, Matt. xxii. 30.

3. Till the heavens be no more is as much (in other language) as, till the day of judgment; in which sense it is true, man lies down, and riseth not till the day of judgment. Now the first resurrection is not till the day of judgment, but at the beginning of it, or in the morning thereof; and the second resurrection at the latter end of it, or in the evening of it, when the thousand years are finished. Again; "till the heavens be no more," *i. e.* till these heavens be no more; for we look for new heavens and a new earth (2 Pet. iii. 13).

Object. 3. It will be disadvantageous to the saints in heaven to be fetched out of heaven, out of bliss, to be brought down to the earth into the world again.

Ans. 1. If the souls in heaven were in perfect bliss, this were somewhat to the purpose: but though they be in heaven, yet they are not in perfect bliss, as they shall be when the day of

judgment shall be ended. And (to omit other things) there is a twofold imperfection of the blessed souls now in heaven. 1. There is an imperfection in respect of number; there wants the full and complete number of God's elect: Heb. xi. ult., "that they without us should not be made perfect." 2. There is imperfection *ratione totius compositi*, i. e. in respect of the whole composition: the body, which is a part of the whole man, is yet in corruption; *ergo*, that while there is imperfection, viz. a part wanting.

2. If, therefore, the bodies of the saints were in heaven, as well as their souls, this were something; but though their souls be in heaven, yet their bodies (as I said before) are in a state of corruption in the grave till the resurrection; and can it be any disadvantage for them to come and take their bodies, or stay on earth till the great judgment be finished?

3. If the souls of the saints were to live again in their mortal bodies, subject to calamities, as the body of Lazarus was, then this objection were something; but their bodies shall be sinless, sorrowless, tearless, and immortal. These, I think, cannot be any way disadvantageous to them.

4. If they were to be on earth without Christ, this were something. But the text saith, "they live and reign *with* Christ," and they shall not be absent from him one moment (Rev. xx. 4, 6). Yea, "we shall [saith the apostle, 1 Thess. iv. 17] be ever with the Lord." And what disadvantage can it be to be with Jesus Christ?

5. If happiness were affixed to heaven, that it

could be no where else, there were some strength in this objection; but Christ's transfiguration tells us, that happiness may be had with Christ on earth (Matt. xvii. 14). So we read, 1 Cor. ii. 9: "Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for them that love him:" which is not meant of heaven only, but of this heavenly time on earth also, to be within the thousand years.

6. Lastly, if heaven itself, as it is a place, would make men happy, and earth, as a place, would make men miserable, then this were somewhat. But, alas, heaven as a place makes not any sou happy, but as God is there, and manifests his glory there with comfort to the soul. The earth makes not any man miserable merely as a place, but because Satan is there, and sin is there, and wicked men are there, as tares among wheat, and Christ is not there. But if Satan were bound, and cast into the bottomless pit, and if wicked men be removed from among the Church, and Christ remove his court from heaven to earth, as in the thousand years he will, then the case will be altered, and earth will become a paradise, and as happy a place to the saints as heaven is now. These things being considered *conjunctim*, or together, what disadvantage will it be to the souls of the saints to live in their sinless, sorrowless, joyful, immortal bodies, with the Lord Jesus Christ?

Object. 4. The Scripture seems to tell us plainly, that all the dead, both good and bad, shall be raised in one hour, in the last day, in the same

moment, in the twinkling of an eye; there cannot, then, be a thousand years' distance between the one and the other, for all the dead are said to rise in one hour, John v. 28, 29: "The hour is coming, in which all that are in the graves shall hear his voice, and come forth: they that have done good unto the resurrection of life, and they that have done evil to the resurrection of damnation." John xi. 24: "I know that he shall rise again in the resurrection at the last day;" and John vi. 40: "I will raise him up at the last day." So 1 Cor. xv. 52: "In a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trump; for the trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall be raised," &c.

Ans. 1. We are to put a difference between an hour in general and an hour in special. Now what is an hour in general but time in general? and what is an hour in special but the twenty-fourth part of a natural day? and when our Saviour saith, "the hour is coming," he doth not mean the last of these, but the first. The time is coming, in the compass whereof all that are in the graves shall come forth, &c.; they that have done good, to the resurrection of life, in the morning of the day of judgment, or the beginning of the thousand years; and they that have done evil, to the resurrection of damnation, in the evening of the day of judgment, when the thousand years are ended. That an hour is thus taken for time in general, appears, Rev. xi. 13: "The same hour was a great earthquake [*i. e.* a kingdom-quake, a nation-quake], and the tenth part of the city fell;" which no man will understand of the same twenty-fourth part of the same in-

dividual day, but of time in this general acceptation.

2. We are to put a difference between the last day in general, and the last day in special. Now what is the last day in general but the great day of judgment; at the dawning of which the thousand years we speak of shall begin, and then the godly shall rise: in the evening of which day the thousand years shall end, and the wicked one shall rise, and not before. But if we speak of the last day in special, it may have another day, or another year, to follow after it, according as the day or year is that we speak of. As, suppose we speak of the last day of this world; it hath a day, and a year, and another world to succeed it,—Matt. xii. 32, “the world to come,” Eph. i. 21; Heb. ii. 5,—as the old world, of which St. Peter speaks, had, 2 Peter ii. 5, with 2 Peter iii. 6. But if we speak of the last day of the next world, it is the ultimate day of all, or the last day under the sun, and hath no day to succeed it but eternity. And here we are to take notice, the thousand years we speak of are in the world to come. And in the last day of this world shall be the resurrection of the just; and in the last day of the next world shall be the resurrection of the wicked. And further, we are to know, that in those two places of John (viz. John xi. 24 and vi. 4), where the last day is spoken of, there is mention only of the resurrection of the just, no mention at all of the resurrection of the wicked; and therefore it may be supposed that they are left out, because they shall not be raised up at that time, but be stayed till afterwards.

3. We are to put a difference between one moment and another; and we say the moment in which the just shall be changed is the beginning of the thousand years; and the moment in which the wicked shall be raised is the end of the thousand years. Furthermore, by the word "moment" and "twinkling of an eye," is meant the suddenness of the change, and not the time when it shall be. "And we also,"—the apostle speaks not of the wicked, but of the just only; and why should they be left out, if that were their time of raising or changing? But we see by other Scriptures that they shall have another time.

Object. 5. The saints shall be caught up from the earth "to meet the Lord in the air" (1 Thess. iv. 16). How, then, can they reign with Christ on the earth?

Ans. This will prove no impediment at all, these things being well considered:

1. When Christ ascended up to heaven, it is not to be doubted but the angels met him by the way. What man will say they did not return to heaven with him?

2. It is the custom when the judges ride the circuit, whither they intend to come, the sheriffs and justices ride to meet them, and to accompany the judges to the place of judicature. And no other is the case here. When Christ is coming to the earth, the saints shall be caught up "to meet him in the air;" when they have so done, they return back, and go with him to the earth, from whence they came.

3. It is not said, that Christ shall come from heaven to meet the saints; such a speech would

imply, that they are about to go to heaven with Christ, and that Christ came to meet them in the way, and to bring them thither. But the text saith, the saints shall be caught up "to meet the Lord in the air." This speech doth imply, that the Lord Jesus Christ is coming from heaven to earth, and the saints meet him by the way, and return with him to the earth, whence they came and he is going.

4. Lastly, unless the saints did meet him in the air, and return with him to the earth, Christ should not stand at the latter day upon the earth, as Job saith he shall, Job xix. 25: **ואחרון על עפר יקום** *et novissimo super pulverem staturum*, i. e. (I know that) at, or in the last, he shall stand on the dust;—that is, at the last day he shall stand on the dust of the earth; which are the most certain and literal expressions the Hebrews have for that purpose. Neither else could Christ come with all his saints, as the Scripture saith he shall, Zech. xiv. 5: "And the Lord my God shall come, and **כל קדשים עמך** *omnes sancti tecum*"] all his saints with thee;" or (which is all one), he shall come with thee and all the saints. So 1 Thess. iii. 13: "At the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ with all his saints." So 1 Thess. iv. 14: "Those which sleep in Jesus Christ will God bring with him." And whither will God bring them with him but to the earth, whence they were caught to meet him?

Object. 6. Of what quality the first death is, of that quality the first resurrection is. But the first death was a spiritual death, or death of the

soul in sin ; and from hence followed the second death, which is the death of the body.

Ans. 1. If the first death be a spiritual death, what shall we call the death of the body? shall we call it the second death, as this objection doth, and as in order it follows that which is here called a death ; or shall it be called a third death? The second death it cannot be, for that is of the soul and body in hell, and every of the saints escape that. Rev. xx. 6: "On such the second death hath no power." But the saints escape not the death of the body. The third death it cannot be; for we read in Scripture of no such death. It remaineth, then, that the death of the body is the first death, is the death of the body, as well as the death in hell the second.

2. We must distinguish between death properly taken and improperly taken. The first death properly taken is the death of the body, and the first resurrection properly taken is the resurrection of the body. Now John speaks of death properly taken, and not of the other ; and of the resurrection properly taken, and not of the other: as appears by this, that this resurrection is such to the godly first as it is to the wicked afterward, which is a proper resurrection.

3. We are to distinguish between death visible and invisible. The first death visible is the death of the body, and the first visible resurrection is the resurrection of the body. Now the apostle John speaks of death visible, and of a resurrection visible, and not invisible; and therefore he hath it in a vision visibly represented to him.

Object. 7. To do a thing with Christ doth not imply his personal presence with us, but in Scripture-phrase we may be said to do a thing with Christ, which we either do for Christ or by his assistance; or do a thing that Christ did before us, though himself be not personally present with us. As Rom. viii. 17: "if we suffer," doth not imply that no man can suffer but he must have Christ personally present with him on the earth to suffer with him. No; that cannot be the meaning: but we suffer with Christ, though we be on the earth and he in heaven; because we suffer for him and by his assistance, and suffer the same things he suffered before us. So this phrase of reigning with Christ, doth not imply Christ's personal abode with us, but only the doing of a thing, or enjoyment of a thing, for Christ's sake; or the doing of that which he now doth, though in another place, or the doing of that which he did before us.

Ans. For a man to do a thing with Christ before death doth not imply Christ's personal presence with him in the doing of it; but for a man to do a thing with Christ after death doth imply Christ is personally present with him at the doing of it, as that very text quoted in the objection doth sufficiently declare, viz. Rom. viii. 17: "If we suffer with him, we shall be glorified with him." The former clause, "if we suffer with him," is spoken of a man before death, and doth not imply that a man is personally present with him when he suffers. But the latter clause, "we shall be glorified with him," is meant of a man after death, and doth imply that a man is per-

sonally present with him when he is glorified together with him. So, likewise, for a man to live with Christ before death doth not imply the personal presence of Christ; the reason is, because before death we are absent from the Lord (2 Cor. v. 6). But for the saints to live and reign with Christ after death, yea, after the resurrection of their bodies, this doth imply Christ is personally present with them where they so reign; and the reason is, because after death they are ever with the Lord, and never absent from him. As the Scripture testifies, John xiv. 3: "That where I am, there ye may be also." John xvii. 24: "Father, I will that they also, whom thou hast given me, be with me where I am, that they may behold my glory which thou hast given me." Phil. i. 23: "I desire to depart, and to be with Christ." 1 Thess. iv. 17: "And so shall we ever be with the Lord." 2 Tim. ii. 12: "We shall also reign with him." Therefore, seeing the saints are said to live and reign with Christ, and are not saints militant, or the saints before death, but saints triumphant, or saints after death, as hath appeared before, it follows that Christ is personally present with them so living and reigning.

Object. 8. This opinion dispeoples heaven of all the ancient glorious inhabitants thereof, and that for no less than a thousand years together.

Ans. 1. Are not the angels the inhabitants of heaven in the time of the thousand years? and yet they shall be on the earth some time too. John i. 52: "Verily I say unto you, hereafter ye shall see heaven open, and the angels of God ascending and *descending* upon the Son of Man."

Which words have a special reference unto the time of the thousand years, when Christ shall be on the earth.

2. How many souls were in heaven before Abel came thither? So many shall there be when the thousand years begin, and while they are. And how many shall be left in heaven when the day of judgment shall begin and be? So many shall be there when the thousand years shall begin and be, and no more; for they are one and the same.

Object. 9. This opinion implies a threefold coming of Christ. The first, when he came to take flesh; the second, when he comes to take, receive, and enter upon his kingdom; the third, when he shall come to judge, to conclude, and end the world.

Ans. This opinion owns but two comings of Christ; and as the Scripture, so this opinion knows no more. The first at his incarnation; the second at this great day of judgment; the third I know not, for the thousand years are *durante et currente die judicii*, the day of judgment continuing and running on. His first coming is but one, and takes into it all the time of his stay upon earth. And his second coming is but one, and takes in all the time of his staying and reigning with them; and he ascends not till he hath conquered all his and his people's enemies, Gog and Magog, devil, death, and all; and so when all is done, and death and hell cast into the lake of fire and brimstone, he endeth the world, and himself and saints ascend to heaven, and he delivers up the kingdom to the Father, and so

from thenceforth God will be all in all for ever (1 Cor. xv. 23 to 27).

Object. 10. The saints in heaven are in perfect bliss; but if they live upon the earth again, they must then be subject to calamities again.

Ans. 1. What calamity did the angels suffer when they descended to the earth to converse with Abraham and Lot? (Gen. xviii.) I suppose not any.

2. What calamity suffered Moses and Elias when they appeared with Christ on the mount (Matt. xvii.), and talked with Jesus in reference to his sufferings?

3. What calamity suffered Christ when he abode on the earth forty days?

4. What calamity suffer the souls in heaven without their bodies? Such calamities shall they suffer on earth in their bodies, and none other.

5. Lastly, what makes heaven a happy place, but because the throne of Christ is there? Now let Christ withdraw his throne from thence unto the earth, as we say he will all the time of the thousand years, and earth shall become heaven.

Object. 11. But is not the earth in Scripture said to be a place of tribulation here in this world? See John xvi. 33: ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ θλίψιν ἔχετε, "in the world ye shall have tribulation." So Acts xiv. 22: "And that we must through much tribulation enter into the kingdom of God." How, then, can the world become so happy a place?

Ans. 1. The earth is the place of tribulation to the saints in the world until the day of judgment; but that the saints shall have tribulation

in and during the day of judgment, I never read it in Scripture, but the contrary. 2 Thess. i. 6, 7 : "It is a righteous thing with God to recompense tribulation to them that trouble you, and to you who are troubled, rest with us, when the Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven," &c. Rest with us, rest from sufferings and tribulations.

2. Both those texts before named are to be understood of the condition of the saints here upon earth before death ; but that the saints should have tribulation after the resurrection of their bodies, though they be on earth, is neither the meaning of those texts, nor can the world bring any such thing to pass.

3. Both those forecited texts are to be understood with intermination. Now God will have the thousand years to be a time of perfect and complete intermination to the New Jerusalem, or camp of the saints ; for the tabernacle of God shall be with them, "and God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes, and there shall be [among them] no more death, neither sorrow nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain," Rev. xxi. 3, 4. It will also be a time of far more perfect and complete intermination to the other saints, who are in a state of mortality, and are called (Rev. xxi. 24) the nations that are saved, and walk in the light of it, than ever the sun saw, or the people of God enjoyed before. Now that those texts are to be (as I said) understood with intermination, is manifest by that rest which sometime the church had. As Acts ix. 31 : "Then had the churches rest throughout all Judea, and Galilee, and Samaria," &c. So also in Solomon's

time (1 Kings iv. 25), whose peaceful time was a type of the peace, rest, and quiet we are speaking of, we see what an abundance of quiet they enjoyed; for the text saith, "Judah and Israel dwelt safely, every man under his vine and under his fig-tree, from Dan even to Beersheba, all the days of Solomon." If such were the peace of Solomon, who was but a type, what is like to be the peace of the church under the antitype, who is a King, as of righteousness, so of peace; as it is said of Melchizedec, another type?

4. Tribulation is not essential to the earth, but accidental only; and if Christ be pleased to make that a place of happiness to the saints, which is now a place of misery, let no man's eye be evil because Christ's is good.

5. What is meant by the earth in this question? Not the earth unreformed and unrenewed, but reformed and renewed, as it shall be at the day of judgment. The former is a place of misery procured by the first Adam; the second is a place of happiness, for that time, procured by the second Adam, Jesus Christ.

Object. 12. The reign of the saints is everlasting in heaven; therefore it is not temporary upon the earth, as this opinion implies (Matt. v. 10; 2 Tim. iv. 18).

Ans. The reign of the saints is in both places, though not at one and the same time, but at distinct and diverse times, succeeding one another.

1. If we speak of the time before the day of judgment, the souls of the saints departed are in heaven; and they live with Christ in bliss, though (as I have before proved) not in perfect

bliss; and they shall there continue till the day of judgment, at the beginning whereof the thousand years begin, and not before.

2. If we speak of the time during the day of judgment, we say that the souls of the saints shall remove from heaven, as Christ himself shall, and be united to their bodies, and shall remain with Christ on earth till the great day of judgment be ended, which ends not till the thousand years be also ended.

3. If we speak of the time after the day of judgment is ended, we say that the saints shall remove from earth to heaven, where they shall remain for ever with Christ. Thus we see the reign of the saints is at several times in both places.

Object. 13. We read, Exod. xxxiv. 30: "That when Aaron and all the children of Israel saw Moses, behold, the skin of his face shone, and they were afraid to come nigh him." Even so, if the saints should live again on the earth, with and in their glorified bodies, we should do and be the like, viz. afraid to come near them. And so there could be no communion between their glorified bodies and ours.

Ans. 1. Were not the bodies that the angels had glorious bodies? Yet Abraham and Lot were not afraid to come nigh them. Gen. xviii. 2: "He ran to meet them." So Gen. xix. 2.

2. Were not the bodies of Moses and Elias glorified bodies when they appeared to Christ on the mount? And yet the disciples could endure their presence (Matt. xvii. 4).

3. Was not Christ's body glorified after his

resurrection? yet his disciples could converse with him, and he with them, as the evangelists declare, Matt. xxviii.; Mark xvi.; Luke xxiv.; John xx. xxi.: all testifying the frequent appearing of Christ to his disciples.

4. As Moses put a veil over his face while he was talking with them, so that his face did not offend them, so the saints can hide their glory (as Christ did his resurrection *), so as that it shall not be offensive to the godly mortal saints; and they can again manifest their glory at their pleasure, so as it shall be a terror to the wicked. Can we think that such a little silly creature as the *λαμπυρίς*, *nitedula*, or glow-worm, shall at her pleasure withdraw, or cause her pretty spark in the dark to glisten; and shall not those raised glorious saints much more at their pleasure withdraw, or cause their glory to appear, as an occasion for either shall require.

Object. 14. This opinion doth imply that in this visible monarchy Christ shall change all worldly customs, and pull down all kingly power and greatness (how just soever), and set up a new way of government, so as that there shall be no other lords but as it is written, Isaiah ii. 11 and ver. 17: "And the loftiness of man shall be bowed down, and the haughtiness of men shall be made low, and the Lord alone shall be exalted in that day."

Ans. 1. I hope this is not the cause why great ones are so loath to hear of this opinion; for the counsel of God shall stand, and every jot and

* Mark xvi. 12; Luke xxiv. 16.

tittle of his word be fulfilled, whether we believe it, and they receive it, yea or no.

2. We read, 1 John v. 19, "that the whole world lieth in wickedness;" and if Christ should change the customs of this wicked world, and set up better in their room and place, why should any godly man be against that? It is enough for the wicked of the world (Luke xix. 14) to say, "We will not have this man to reign over us."

3. And if Christ shall take the kingdoms of the world into his own hands, he doth no man wrong herein; for God hath made him "heir of all things" (Heb. i. 2); and he is "King of kings" (Rev. xix. 10). Therefore all kings and princes of the world must be content to resign their crowns and sceptres into his hand, and lay them down at his feet, when he calls for them, as the four and twenty elders did (Rev. iv. 10).

4. Whereas it is said Christ shall put down all kingly power and greatness, it is false, if they mean to exclude the saints thereby; for the saints shall live and reign with him, and they shall be priests of God and of Christ; and shall reign a thousand years, not in co-ordination with him, but in subordination to him, as the text implies.

Object. 15. This opinion doth not only imply the conversion (which some divines have granted and believed), but (which others have doubted) the total reduction of the twelve tribes of Israel and Judah into their own land again.

Ans. Upon what grounds this can rationally be doubted, I confess I see not; for the Scripture seems to me very plain, not only for their return

or reduction in the general, that it shall be so, but also tells us many particulars about it.

1. I say, the Scripture tells us plainly in the general that it shall be so, that they shall be brought into their own land again. For this see these Scriptures:—Isaiah xxxiii. 20: "Look upon Zion, the city of our solemnities: thine eyes shall see Jerusalem a quiet habitation, a tabernacle that shall not be taken down, not one of the stakes thereof shall ever be removed, neither shall any of the cords thereof be broken;" ver. 17: "Thine eyes shall see the King [viz. Christ] in his beauty: they shall behold the land that is very far off;" ver. ult: "And the inhabitants shall not say, I am sick: the people that dwell therein shall be forgiven their iniquity." Jer. xxxi. 27, 28: "Behold the days come, saith the Lord, that I will sow the house of Israel and the house of Judah with the seed of man, and with the seed of beast. And it shall come to pass, that like as I have watched over them, to pluck up, and to break down, and to throw down, and to destroy, and to afflict; so will I watch over them, to build, and to plant, saith the Lord. And I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel and with the house of Judah," &c. Read (I pray you) the rest, and consider these expressions well. I will thank any man to tell me, and prove it, when every jot and tittle of these and such-like texts were, since those prophecies, fulfilled: if they have not, I am sure they shall, for Christ, the truth, hath told me so, Matt. v. 18: "Verily I say unto you, Till heaven and earth pass, one jot, or one tittle, shall in no wise pass

from the law, till all be fulfilled." But to go on ; see Ezek. xxxvii. 11, 12 : " Then he said unto me, Son of man, these bones are the whole house of Israel : behold they say, Our bones are dried, and our hope is lost ; we are cut off for our parts. Therefore prophesy, and say unto them, Thus saith the Lord God ; Behold, O my people, I will open your graves, and cause you to come up out of your graves, and bring you into the land of Israel. Moreover, take thee one stick, and write upon it, For Judah, and for the children of Israel his companions : then take another stick, and write upon it, For Joseph, the stick of Ephraim, and for the house of Israel his companions ; and join them one to another into one stick, and they shall become one in thine hand." And ver. 20 : " And the sticks whereon thou writest shall be in thine hand before their eyes. And say unto them, Thus saith the Lord God ; Behold, I will take the children of Israel from among the heathen, whither they be gone, and will gather them on every side, and bring them into their own land : and I will make them one nation in the land, upon the mountains of Israel ; and one king shall be king to them all : and they shall be no more two nations, neither shall they be divided into two kingdoms any more at all. And David my servant shall be king over them ; and they all shall have one shepherd ; and they shall dwell in the land that I have given unto Jacob my servant, wherein your fathers have dwelt ; and they shall dwell therein, even they and their children, and their children's children for ever : and my servant David [*i. e.* Christ]

shall be their prince for ever." Hosea iii. 4, 5: "The children of Israel shall abide many days without a king, and without a prince, and without a sacrifice, and without an image, and without an ephod, and without a teraphim: afterward shall the children of Israel return, and seek the Lord their God, and David their king, and shall fear the Lord and his goodness in the latter days." Amos ix. 11, 14, 15. See also Isaiah xi., the whole chapter; so Hosea i. ult.; Zech. xii., and many other places, which for brevity's sake I forbear to recite.

2. As the Scripture proves their reduction into their own land again, so it tells us many particulars about the manner of their conversion and reduction; as for instance:

1. That this conversion and reduction shall be in the height of their misery, when the greatest misery and affliction shall be upon them that ever was since their dispersion, Dan. xii. 1: "At that time shall Michael [*i. e.* Christ] stand up, the great prince which standeth for the children of thy people; and there shall be a time of trouble, such as never was since there was a nation, even to that same time; and at that time thy people shall be delivered, when they shall be dry bones, and all hope shall be past with them, so that they shall say, Our bones are dry, our hope is lost; we are cut off for our parts: then those dry bones shall live, then God will open their graves, and bring them out of their graves," &c. Ezek. xxxvii. 11, 12. God's time of love, above all other times, is, when men lie wallowing in their blood; when their hopes are at the lowest, then is their

deliverance nearest. In the mount will God appear when none is shut up or left, then will his own arm bring salvation, and be their deliverance; so that when he shall turn again the captivity of Zion, it will appear to them as a dream (Psalm cxxvi. 1), their deliverance being come when almost all hope was gone.

2. That in this conversion and reduction, they shall return unto Christ, and then embrace him whom they formerly crucified and rejected, saying, "We will not have this man rule over us;" and "his blood be upon us and upon our children." But when this time shall time, Israel and Judah shall be gathered together (Hos. i. 11), which yet hath never been since their rejection, "and they shall appoint themselves one head." This head can be none other but Christ, whom they shall, by their own election in that day, appoint to be their head or king. It is true, he was appointed by the Father in his eternal decree, and in the covenant between the Father and the Son before the world was, as appears Prov. viii. 22, 23, and Ps. ii. 6.* But now their hearts shall be turned about, and they that rejected the covenant of God against themselves, and would not have him to be their head whom the Lord had appointed, now they shall choose the same and consent to him; they shall appoint to themselves one head, and elect for themselves the same head. Hos. iii. 5: "They shall return and seek the Lord, and David their king; *i. e.* they shall come to seek God and Christ their king, in this latter day of their conversion and reduction. They shall

* The word in both places is נִסְכַּרְי, of נִסַּךְ, to appoint a king, or inaugurate; *regem constitui.*

then "look on him whom they have pierced, and mourn," and turn to him.

3. The Scripture tells us, that at their conversion and reduction there shall be wrought in them a very great and real humiliation. Jer. xxxi. 18, 19: "I have heard Ephraim [mark it, not Judah] bemoaning himself," &c. "Surely after that was turned I repented; I was ashamed, yea, even confounded, because I did bear the reproach of my youth." Hos. xiv. 8: "Ephraim shall say, What have I to do any more with idols?" Zech. xii. 10: "They shall look on him whom they have pierced, and they shall mourn for him, and be in bitterness," &c. Jer. xxxi. 8, 9: "Behold, I will bring them from the north country, and gather them from the coasts of the earth: they shall come with weeping, and with supplications will I lead them to Zion;" they shall come, but they shall come with weeping and supplications, &c. But is not this spoken of their return from Babylon? How can it? Did they come out of captivity weeping, and looking on him whom they had pierced, when as then they had not pierced him? It cannot be meant immediately and ultimately of that return, though there are different degrees of the accomplishment of prophecies. But if we look a little back to ver. 1, we shall find another argument. "At the same time, saith the Lord, I will be a God to all the families of Israel, and they shall be my people." The ten tribes, or as the phrase is, "all the families of Israel," did never yet return out of their captivity unto this day. There were indeed two tribes who returned from Babylon; but we no where ever read of the returning of the ten tribes: but we read that they

shall return. And as they went into captivity with weeping, so with weeping they shall return.

4. The Scripture seems to speak of their conversion and reduction, as if it should be in an extraordinary way; not by the preaching of the Gospel, as the Gentile churches were brought in unto the Lord, but by light, and by a visible appearance of the Lord Jesus to them. I will not be positive in it, but set before the reader some Scriptures that seem to speak so much. Zech. xii. 10: "And they shall look upon me* whom they have pierced, and mourn," &c. This seems to be a real ocular looking upon, and beholding Christ; for so much is contained in the verb here used, and not barely a spiritual looking upon him by the eye of faith, such as the Holy Ghost (John vi. 40) calls a seeing of the Son of man, and believing, &c., but a bodily vision, and a seeing him with bodily eyes. So Dan. vii. 13: "And I saw in the night-visions, and behold one like the Son of man came with the clouds of heaven, and came to the ancient of days; and they brought him near before him: and he came [as we may see in the following words] to receive and enter upon his kingdom." But what kingdom? Sure his Davidical kingdom, now to sit upon the throne of his father David. When Christ receives and enters upon this kingdom, it is not like to his entrance upon his spiritual and providential kingdom; that was done in a more spiritual manner by his session at God's right hand (Psalm cx. 1). But upon the administra-

* דרבינו אלי *aspicient ad me*: significat partem anteriorem a capite usque ad ventrem inclinare ad intuendum aliquid.

tion of this kingdom he enters in a more human manner, or as a man actually, when the four great and strange beasts (Dan. vii. princip.) or beastly monarchs are destroyed. Then he comes in the clouds of heaven, ver. 13: "And they bring him to the ancient of days." It is true, God's coming in the clouds, and his riding upon the clouds, notes out the eminent, visible, and glorious appearing of his majesty. But this is the appearing of the Son of man in the clouds, and the coming of the Son of man with the clouds, which (I conceive) is not to be found in Scripture, but when it denotes the coming of the Lord Jesus at the last day to judgment, whose appearance is visible; and then doth he receive dominion, and glory, and a kingdom, that all people, nations, and languages, should serve him. And then, I conceive (I speak it with submission to better judgments), will be that great conversion of Israel and Judah so much spoken of in Scripture; then shall be fulfilled what is here spoken: "they shall look upon him whom they have pierced," &c. Mr. Mede favours this, whose words are these: "The Jews (saith he) are not to be converted unto Christ by such means as were the rest of the nations, by the ministry of preachers sent unto them, but by the revelation of the Lord Jesus in his glory from heaven. When they shall say, not (as when they saw him in his humility), Crucify him, but Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord; whose coming then shall be as the lightning out of the east shining unto the west; and the sign of the Son of man shall appear in the clouds of heaven;

and every eye shall see him, even of those which pierced him, and shall lament with the spirit of grace and supplication, for their so long and so shameful unbelief of their so merciful Redeemer." So far Mr. Mede. Matt. xxiv. 30, 31: "Then shall appear the sign of the Son of man in heaven, and then shall ye see the Son of man coming in the clouds." Happily this may be at and for the great conversion of the Jews. Paul was converted by an appearance of Christ to him; it is possible the Jews may be converted by the same way.

5. The Scripture holds forth, also, that the manner of their conversion and reduction into their own land again shall be exceeding eminent and glorious, to the admiration of all nations, that it may be seen how the Lord hath honoured them. Isa. lx. 1: "Arise, shine; for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee." Hos. i. 11: "Great shall be the day of Jezreel; it shall be a glorious day to them, that shall make them honourable in the eyes of all the nations upon earth." Zech. viii. 23: "Ten men shall take hold in that day, out of all languages of the nations, of the skirt of him that is a Jew, saying, We will go with you, for we have heard that God is with you." Psal. cii. 16: "When the Lord shall build up Zion, he shall appear in his glory." They have had, and shall have, glorious appearances of him, such as no people ever had; and this shall make them to be the desire of all people. As they have been an abject, miserable people for a long time, so when God shall turn their captivity as streams in the south, their glory shall excel.

6. The Scripture also tells us the time of their calling, viz. when the fulness of the Gentiles is come in, blindness so long happened unto them, and shall no longer. For so St. Paul witnesseth, Rom. xi. 25, 26: "For I would not, brethren, that ye should be ignorant of this mystery, that blindness in part is happened to Israel, until the fulness of the Gentiles be come in; and so all Israel shall be saved." So likewise Christ, Luke xxi. 24: "And Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled." But what is the *τὸ πλήρωμα τῶν ἐθνῶν*, "fulness of the Gentiles;" and these *καίροι ἐθνῶν*, "times of the Gentiles?" I answer, the times of the Gentiles (the fulness whereof must be accomplished before the full conversion and reduction of the Jews into their own land) seems to be no other than the times wherein the Gentiles should have dominion, with the misery and subjection of the Jewish nation, set forth in the vision of a fourfold image (Dan. ii.), and four beasts (Dan. vii.), which are the four monarchies; the Babylonian, Persian, Greek, and Roman. The first began with the first captivity of the Jewish nation; and through the times of all the rest they should be in subjection, or in a worse state, under them. But when their times shall be ended, accomplished, and fulfilled, then saith Daniel, "the saints of the Most High shall take the kingdom, and possess the kingdom for ever and ever." That is, there shall be no more kingdoms after it, but it shall continue as long as the world shall endure. Three of these monarchies were past when our Saviour and Paul spoke, and the fourth

was well entered. If, then, by saints there be meant the Jews, as well as other Christians, as questionless they are not excluded, but included, then it is plain enough, that is the time of their full and complete reduction and conversion. I have said full and complete, because I apprehend it possible, yea, very probable, that some before that time shall be converted, and many more gathered together; yea, and for ought I know, they may have some battles with the Grand Seigneur, in order to the recovery of their land, before the other be. Many other things the Scripture tells us in reference to the calling of the Jews; as, Ezek. xxxii. 27; Ezek. xlvi. ult.: that there shall be among them a glorious church, in which the presence of the Lord shall dwell; so that the name of their city shall be called from that day Jehovah-shammah, the Lord is there; for the tabernacle of God will be with them, and dwell with them. That they shall have the purest ordinances, rivers of water of life, clear as crystal; not running with blood, as in days of persecution, nor mixed with the fire of contentions, as formerly they had too often been wont. That they shall live the exactest discipline, so that all that love and make a lie shall be without; those eagle-eyed times will soon spy out the member that is rotten, and the sword of discipline keen enough to cut it off. That then the mountain of the Lord's house shall be exalted above the tops of the mountain, and established in the top of the hills, and all nations shall flow unto it. That then shall follow great peace, and plenty, and prosperity in the church; and all persecutions,

either from enemies without, or tyrants within, shall come to an end. I say, these, and many other things, the Scripture tells us in reference to the Jews; but I forbear to speak of them here, because I shall speak of them elsewhere, with a reference to the whole church, and not the Jews only.

Object. 16. This opinion implies a fulness of all temporal blessings,—as riches, honours, long life, a freedom from all afflictions, &c. under this kingdom.

Ans. 1. Though some have spoken of a fulness of all temporal blessings in this millenary kingdom, yet they do not hereby mean a Jewish or Mahometan paradise, as is by some falsely and uncharitably suggested; but they mean hereby peace, safety, riches, health, long life, or what else was enjoyed under any kingdom, or can be had in the world, or may any way make their lives more comfortable, yet *without sin*. Mark the words, without sin, in the having of them. This is all they mean by temporal blessings, and not the sinful abuse of the creature.

2. To think the saints, the subjects of this kingdom, if they have these temporal blessings, shall abuse them to those carnal pleasures of bed and board (which have been dreamed of by sensual Turks and Talmudists), is to unsaint them, and to make them vile gluttons and unclean persons, contrary to what the word of God saith of such persons, Rom. viii. 5: "They that are after the flesh do mind the things of the flesh: but they that are after the Spirit, the things of the Spirit." So also 1 Tim. iv. 5; also Tit. i. 15; and Rom. viii. 13, 14, and in other places.

3. They that make this objection would make men believe that sensuality is pleaded for in this question; but that is but an abuse, both to the assertors hereof and to the question itself; for sensuality is not pleaded for, but it is indeed holiness that they of this opinion plead for, which is so much by most exploded, yea, derided and hated at this day in the world, who cannot abide to hear of the saints reigning on earth with Christ a thousand years; for then would be such a time, and such a height and measure of holiness on earth as never was before, and never entered into the hearts of men to conceive of; and this in reality is that they cannot endure, but it is a death to them to hear of.

4. Suppose that some men have dreamed, or should, of carnal pleasure, as Turks and sensual Talmudists have done; yet if we will know the mind of God in the matter, we ought to look what God aimeth at in this kingdom, and not what sensual dreamers have said or aim at. Now what God aimeth at in this kingdom most evidently appears in Scripture to be a time of holiness and reformation, a time of peace and purity, a kingdom of saints and sincere worshippers, who may worship him in spirit and in truth, according to his own appointment, and give him the service which he himself requires. And this is it we are to look after in the kingdom of this question, we are to think what holiness, what righteousness, what purity, what piety, what sincerity, what heavenly-mindedness, what knowledge of God, what orthodoxy, what pure worshipping of God, &c., shall be in this kingdom, and not to talk of

sensuality and carnal pleasures, and so corrupt the point by making a vile and wretched use of so holy and so religious a kingdom as the reign of the saints with Christ on earth shall be. Certainly this kingdom is most holy and sacred, or else no kingdom of Christ at all, for holiness becomes his kingdom for ever.

5. The reason why Christ forbids carking and caring for the things of this life, is because they take off the mind from thinking on God so often and so frequently as we should: and the reason why God will have a plenty of temporal and outward blessings in this kingdom ready at hand, for the use of all those that any way stand in need of them, is, that the thoughts of his people, their time or strength, may not be taken off from a close attendance upon God by looking after the things of this world (Matt. vi. 31, 32).

6. To say or think that temporal blessings are not promised to the children of the kingdom, but purely spiritual, is against the Scriptures. 1 Tim. iv. 8: "Godliness is profitable to all things, having the promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come." Psa. xxxiv. 10: "The young lions do lack and suffer hunger: but they that seek the Lord shall not want any good thing." Matt. vi. 33: "All these things shall be added to you." Rev. xxi. 24: "And the kings of the earth do bring their glory and honour into it." Those that need these blessings (as the nations of them that are saved, and walk in the light of the New Jerusalem will) have the promise of them.

7. To say that temporal blessings are not proper for the fruition of saints, is to wrong the saints

of their right; for they only have a proper right from God to them, which the wicked of the world have not (1 Cor. iii. 22, 23).

8. Though the worst of men may have these outward enjoyments for the present, and the best men want them, whereof we see an example in Dives and Lazarus, yet it shall not always be so; for in the time of this kingdom the best shall have them, and the worst shall want them (Zech. xiv. 17, 18).

9. Though the kingdom of God is not meat and drink, as Paul saith (Rom. xiv. 17), in respect of its essentials, yet it is not without meat and drink in respect of additionals, as that known place doth testify, Matt. vi. 33.

10. Though temporal blessings are now but for a moment many times, yet are they blessings while they are enjoyed; and though the grief of their cessation may more than counterpoise the contentment of their fruition to them that lose them, yet it is very clear the saints shall enjoy them in this kingdom during life, and shall not lose them, Ezek. xxxiv. 26, 27, 28: "And I will make them, and the places round about my hill, a blessing; and I will cause the shower to come down in his season; there shall be showers of blessing. And the tree of the field shall yield her fruit, and the earth shall yield her increase; and they shall be safe in their land, and shall know that I am the Lord, when I have broken the bands of their yoke, and delivered them out of the hand of those that served themselves of them. And they shall no more be a prey to the heathen, neither shall the beasts [beastly men]

of the land devour them; but they shall dwell safely, and none shall make them [any more] afraid." Ezek. xxxvi. 28, 29, 30: "I will also save you from all your uncleannesses; and I will call for the corn, and will increase it, and lay no famine upon you. And I will multiply the fruit of the tree, and the increase of the field, that ye shall receive no more reproach of famine among the heathen." And many other places.

11. Though long life will keep a man from heaven while it lasteth, yet it is counted for a blessing in the word of God to have it. In Exod. xx. 12, it is promised as the reward of obedience to the fifth commandment. And Paul tells us, Ephes. vi. 2, 3, that this is the first commandment with promise, "that it may be well with thee, and that thou mayest live long on the earth." Psalm xci. 16: "With long life will I satisfy him, and shew him my salvation." Prov. xvi. 31: "A hoary head is a crown of glory, being found in the way of righteousness." Is it a blessing, a reward, and a crown now; and would it be a judgment then? Sure I am, had God thought so, he would never have made a promise of it to his people, as he doth, Isa. lxv. 20: "There shall be no more thence an infant of days, nor an old man that hath not filled up his days;" and ver. 22: "As the days of a tree are the days of my people; and mine elect shall long enjoy the work of their hands."

12. Lastly, though long life be one of the privileges of this kingdom, yet there shall be death (I conceive) at last; that is, to the nations that are saved, and walk in the light of the New Jeru-

saalem, but not to the camp of the glorified saints or (which is all one) the New Jerusalem. And (though this is controverted by some) that this is so, appears (*ni fallor*) plainly thus :

1. That those whose souls descend and come down with Christ, and are reunited to their bodies, and are literally and properly the raised saints who are raised in the morning of this יום דינא רבא or κρίσις μεγάλης ἡμέρας, great day of judgment, or beginning of the thousand years, and are that company who are called the New Jerusalem, and camp of the saints, that these shall die no more may be taken, I think, on all hands, *pro confesso*, as a thing granted ; which is also proved, Rev. xxi. 4: "And God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes ; and there shall be no more death, neither sorrow nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain:" all which are applicable to them, but not to the other.

2. The other, therefore, who came not down with Christ, but are upon the earth, and are called the nations that are saved, and walk in the light, or by the direction of the former, they, as also all who shall afterwards be converted during this kingdom, have sin, and pain, and tears, and kings, and ordinances, and eat, and drink, and are mortal, and die, &c. Now that they die (for this I think will be most questioned by some), is plainly hinted by the prophet Isaiah, chap. lxx. 20: "The child shall die an hundred years old." It is beyond doubt that he is speaking of this kingdom ; and though he tells us of a long life, where he that lives the least, or but a little time comparatively, shall live a hundred years ; yet he

owns death in this kingdom for all that—"the child shall die a hundred years old." Also the apostle Paul tells us, 1 Cor. xv. 26: "Ἐσχάτος ἐχθρὸς καταργεῖται ὁ θάνατος, that "the last enemy that shall be destroyed is death." Now Gog and Magog shall be destroyed at or after the end of the thousand years; therefore death, which is the last enemy to be destroyed, cannot be destroyed a thousand years before, but is destroyed after the destruction of Gog and Magog, when the thousand years are ended or finished.

Object. 17. This opinion makes the living saints mortal; but the apostle saith, 1 Thess. iv. 17: "That they shall be caught up, and be ever with the Lord." Now if the living saints (I mean those that are found alive at Christ's coming) be caught up and changed (which is something equivalent to death, and states them in immortality) and be ever with the Lord, how can they and their posterity be in a state of mortality for a thousand years? how can these things hold together?

Ans. This objection, I confess, hath seemed hard to some, and is urged as unanswerable by others; and the Rev. Dr. Twiss (in Mr. Mede's *Diatriba*, part iv. p. 472), having propounded and answered nine objections against this opinion, propounds this in the tenth and last place, and leaves it unanswered, as not knowing what could be said to it; whereupon Mr. Mede takes it for tithe, and answers it; whose answers you may please to see and peruse: they are *eodem loco*, p. 473. I conceive (submitting my opinion still to better judgments in this mystery), that the plain

and true answer is this: those of God's people that are alive at Christ's coming, those shall be caught up, together with the raised saints (which shall be done in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the sound of the trumpet of the initiation of that great day, for this is not the last trump, or the trumpet of consummation), and be changed, and so put into a state of immortality, and neither marry, nor have posterity, nor die, but be as the angels; and therefore they are not meant by the nations that are saved, that walk in the light thereof. But you will say, Who are they, then? I answer, That when Christ shall thus gloriously manifest himself in person to the world, for his people, and against his enemies, and shall have destroyed the most part of those that oppose him by far, at that great Armageddon battle; I say, then there shall and will be a mighty conversion of very many of those who see these things, being such wonders as men never saw before. Yea, and all or most of those few that escape destruction at that great Armageddon battle, being converted, shall go and preach the strange things of that day and time to the nations who are afar off, and have not seen and heard them; and of these, when they shall have heard those things, shall very many be converted. And these are the nations of them that are saved; who are mortal, and eat and drink, and have kings and ordinances, and marry and have children, and their children are all taught of God. And many will be converted to God within the thousand years; all these walk in the light of the New Jerusalem, and these kings bring

their glory and honour to it, and take directions from it. And then, when the thousand years are ended, comes the battle of Gog and Magog, and the last and general judgment; then sounds the last trumpet (which is, as I said before, the trumpet of consummation, as the other was of the initiation of that great day); and they that are then found alive shall be changed as before, and Christ makes an end of his kingdom, after the separation, sentence, and execution, delivering up the kingdom to the Father, that God may be all in all thenceforth for ever. This answer (if I be not deceived) cuts the ham-strings of this objection, if itself be good; and there are but two things, I think, to be cleared to make it passable: 1. That the rapture of the saints; 2. That the trumpets, are such as in this predication they are said to be. A word, therefore, to these.

1. This rapture of the saints that are alive at Christ's coming must be, I think, in the beginning of the thousand years; for they shall meet the Lord in the air, which cannot be meant of the end of the thousand years, for then Christ is on the earth with them: so that although *πρῶτον* and *ἔπειτα*, *first* and *then*, may admit a great distance of time (as Mr. Mede saith in his first answer to this objection), yet I see not how it can do so here. And if (as he saith in his fourth answer) this rapture should be to preserve the saints from that great conflagration of the earth, and the works thereof (2 Pet. iii. 10), that is also held to be in the beginning of the thousand years, in the Armageddon battle, before the new heavens and new earth. And that this rapture should

be without their change, and stating in immortality, I think hardly any man will say; for they are thenceforth ever with the Lord on earth, during the thousand years, and in heaven ever afterwards. *Ergo*, they neither marry, nor multiply, nor die any more; but are as the angels; and therefore are none of the nations that are said to be saved, and walk in the light of the New Jerusalem (Rev. xxi. 24).

2. But the greatest question will be about the two trumpets; the one of initiation or inchoation of the thousand years; the other of consummation in the end of the thousand years, or rather some time after (Rev. xx. 9); to wit, when Gog and Magog's attempts are over, and their armies burnt with the fire that falls from heaven and consumes them; for then doth the last trumpet sound. Now that this is so, I humbly offer what follows for the clearing of it.

1. Because all the dead are said to be raised at the sound of the trumpet. Now, as we have already heard, they are raised at two distinct different times; therefore there must be two distinct and different trumpets, for otherwise some should be raised with the sound of the trumpet, and the rest without; which I think hardly any man will affirm or grant.

2. Because the text tells us (1 Thess. iv. 16; 1 Cor. xv. 52) of a trumpet, and the last trumpet, which seem to be distinguished one from another; for the last trumpet must necessarily be understood in opposition to a former of the same kind; and whereas some have taken this last trump to be the seventh apocalyptic trumpet (Rev. xi. 15),

and so called the last in opposition to the former six,—that cannot be, because those are judicial trumpets, but these are of another kind, and have a distinct use and end from the former.

Object. 18. Our creed speaks but of one resurrection, not of two.

Ans. 1. So the creed speaks but of one forgiveness of sins, not of two; and yet one man hath his sins forgiven before another. So it speaks of but one eternal life, not of two, or ten, or many; yet one man enters into eternal life before another, and indeed every man in his own order; so that if there were as many eternal lives distinct one from another as there is orders, or distinct times of entering into the same, we must reckon, not one, or two, or ten, but many thousands. So it is with the resurrection of the dead; one man dies before another, and one man riseth before another.

2. The Church of Christ, in her primitive and purest state, taught this without doubt, that the resurrection of the body is but once and one; and yet in these parts, viz. of the just in their place and order, then of the unjust after, in their place and order; or, as the apostle phraseth it, 1 Cor. xv. 23: *ἕκαστος δὲ ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ τάγματι*, “every one in his own order.”

3. All men die but once, yet all men do not die at once. So all men rise but once; yet all men do not rise at once; but some at one time, some at another.

4. When we speak of the first and second resurrection of the body, we mean it either of one body or of divers; if but of one body, there is

but one resurrection, and no more; but if we speak of divers bodies, whereof one sort is good, the other bad, and compare them together, and ask the question which shall rise first, the answer must be, The good shall rise first, and have their part in the first resurrection; and the bad shall not arise until the second resurrection. "The rest of the dead lived not again till the one thousand years were ended."

Object. 19. A spiritual resurrection is before the corporal, and every soul riseth spiritually from the death of sin before he riseth corporally from the grave; therefore the spiritual resurrection is the first, and the corporal resurrection from the grave is the second.

Ans. 1. If the spiritual resurrection be the first, then why doth Paul say, "The dead in Christ shall rise first?" He should have said, The dead in Christ shall rise second; for a spiritual resurrection was before it.

2. Though a spiritual resurrection be in some sense before a corporal, yet it is never called the first resurrection in all the Scripture; that title belongs to the resurrection of the body, and no other.

3. We may distinguish in this case between a resurrection properly and improperly so called; the first resurrection properly so called is of the body; though a spiritual resurrection, improperly and only analogically so called, precede and go before it.

4. The first resurrection is so called, not absolutely, but comparatively; and that not in respect of one body, but divers bodies. Take one and

the same body,—as, for instance, Peter's,—and ask the question, What resurrection did befall him first? a spiritual resurrection or a corporal? The answer is, a spiritual. But take we divers bodies, whereof the onesort are just and the other wicked, and compare them together, and ask the question, which of these shall rise first out of their graves? and the answer must be, the just shall arise before the wicked. And this the Scripture calls the first resurrection; and the resurrection of the just opposed to the unjust.

Object. 20. If the first resurrection be the resurrection of the body, who hath part therein? Not the saints in general, for the text speaks of martyrs only; and yet not the martyrs only, for then they only should be blessed, which is false.

Ans. The first resurrection is the resurrection of the body, and all the saints have part therein; who in a sense are all martyrs, as well as those who are actually beheaded or killed for the word of God. See this more largely proved and cleared before. But suppose it true, that that text, Rev. xx. 4, speaks only of martyrs (which yet it doth not) in a strict sense, yet other texts speak of all the saints; and therefore the other saints besides martyrs are to be added to, and counted in, the number. Zech. xiv. 5: "And the Lord my God shall come, and *all* the saints with thee." 1 Cor. xv. 23: "They that are Christ's at his coming"—not only martyrs in a strict sense, but they, be they who they will, so they belong to Christ,—they that are Christ's at his coming. 1 Thess. iii. 13: "At the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ with all his saints." 1 Thess. iv. 14: "Even so them

also which sleep in Jesus will God bring with him." And John (Rev. v. 9, 10), speaking of the privilege of the Church redeemed by Christ's blood, or rather they themselves speaking of it, say, "Thou hast redeemed us by thy blood out of every kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation; and hast made us unto our God kings and priests: and we shall reign on the earth." It is not the privilege of martyrs only, but of all the saints; who for the sake and cause of God are killed all the day long, and are accounted as sheep for the slaughter, and are slain, if not in effect, yet in affection, and accounted as the off-scouring of all things.

But thus I have briefly endeavoured to remove twenty ordinary and common objections; which lying in the way, have been an occasion to keep some off from giving any hearty entertainment to this truth. It may be, some will blame me for dwelling so long, in so short a tract, on objections; but I did it, because I know men that are not persuaded of the truth in hand will raise many. Others, perhaps, will think of some that I have not named; but yet I hope an answer may be picked out of what hath been said to them that may be further objected. I have now only a few things more, in so many words to hint, and I shall conclude, leaving the whole to the censure of the Church and people of God.

*Note we, therefore, that the resurrection of the just in the morning of the day of judgment, or beginning of the thousand years, is called the first resurrection, not simply and absolutely, as if no other corporal resurrection had gone before it,

but the first *secundum quid* ; because it is the first to the thousand years' reign, and the first in order to the second, which will be universal of all the rest of the dead, in the last judgment, properly and strictly so called. So here are, as it were, a determination of two resurrections, differing not *specie*, in kind, but only *tempore et gradu*, in time and degree. *Specie*, in kind, it is but one resurrection only, of which we say in our creed, I believe the resurrection, not resurrections; for though we hold two degrees, or two times of rising again from the dead, yet we believe (both making but one) but one resurrection. For we believe at the resurrection of Christ some saints did rise again; and yet we hold no more but one resurrection (Matt. xxvii. 52). Yet without doubt the Greek article twice repeated (*αὕτη ἡ ἀνάστασις ἡ πρώτη*), "this that resurrection that first," hath a singular emphasis, to demonstrate some first resurrection known and spoken of in the writings of the prophets and apostles. Of this resurrection of the just Isaiah seems to speak. Isa. xxvi. 14: "They are dead, they shall not live: they are deceased, they shall not rise,"—where *vivere* is the same with *resurgere*, and it is meant of the non-resurrection of the unjust, *i. e.* in that resurrection; and therefore it is said on the contrary, and by way of opposition, ver. 19, "Thy dead men shall live, together with my dead body shall they arise. Awake and sing, ye that dwell in dust: the earth shall cast out her dead." Here these dead (say the annotators on the Bible) are distinguished from those dead before spoken of, ver. 14 (*יחי*

וְיִחְיֶיךָ מֵתֶיךָ *vivent mortui tui*, [*sicut*] *cadaver meum resurgent*), and are to be referred to the first resurrection, or the resurrection of life, as it is phrased, John v. 29. That is peculiar to the faithful, and opposed to that, ver. 14: "Thy dead men shall not live," &c. They that interpret this of an allegorical resurrection depart from the literal sense, without need or cause, contrary to the rule of any true and genuine interpretation. See, also, Jer. xxxi. 15: "Rachel weeping for her children, because they are not;" that is, because they are killed: it follows, ver. 17, "There is hope in thine end [*לאחריתך in novissimo tuo*], saith the Lord, that thy children shall come again into their own border;" viz. being raised again from the dead; for it is irrational to interpret this comfort of any others than of these concerning whom the lamentation and mourning did arise and grow. So Ezek. xxxvii. 12, 13: "Therefore prophesy and say unto them, Thus saith the Lord God, Behold, O my people, I will open your graves, and cause you to come up out of your graves, and bring you into the land of Israel. And ye shall know that I am the Lord, when I have opened your graves, O my people, and brought you up out of your graves: and shall put my Spirit into you, and ye shall live, and I shall place you in your own land; then shall ye know that I the Lord have spoken it, and performed it, saith the Lord." See the whole text and context; it is very full and pat to our present purpose, without any interpretation at all. Dan. xii. 2: "Many of them that sleep in the dust shall awake; some to everlasting life,

and some to everlasting shame and contempt." That is, the just to life eternal in the first resurrection, and the unjust to everlasting shame and contempt in the second resurrection. Yea, Paul himself declares this first resurrection. 1 Thess. iv. 16: "The dead in Christ shall rise first." The vulgar translation hath the word *primi*, but the Greek is *πρώτον*, *primum*; but it comes all to one. And hence Chrysostom upon the place saith, *Ante impios resurgent justi, ut sint primi in resurrectione, non tantum dignitate sed tempore*—"the just shall rise before the wicked, that they may be first in the resurrection, not only in dignity, but in time." Now if the dead in Christ shall rise first, when shall the wicked rise but in a second resurrection? And if the resurrection St. Paul speaks of be the resurrection of the body, why is not the resurrection St. John speaks of, the resurrection of the body too? And Paul tells us plainly, 1 Cor. xv. 23 to 26, that there is an exact order in the resurrection, and that the order is thus: first, Christ, the first-fruits and captain of our salvation, leads the way, and is the first in order; the second order is of those that are Christ's, of the godly, at his coming; and the third order is of all the rest of the world when the end comes. But I shall leave off to enumerate any further Scripture proofs, for the thing seems to me (ever submitting myself to better judgments and plainer proofs) exceeding clear and plain.

Object. Yet when all this is done, methinks I hear some say, It is a novelty; surely if it were true, it would have been made known and been believed before now.

Solut. To this I answer, I confess the apprehension of novelty is a great prejudice to this truth; and I freely confess, that that kept me off a long time from closing in with it. But this is but an apprehension, not a reality; for if Christ himself, and his apostles, and the prophets, and the Christian Jews, both before Christ and since, and the primitive Gentile Christians, were of this opinion, then I hope it is no novelty: but all these were of this opinion; *ergo*, it is no novelty. (See Mede's *Diatrobe*, p. 4.) That all they were of this opinion, is partly cleared in this small tract, and partly might further, but that I am resolved it shall not swell; and other more learned men have done it. I confess, for the one thousand years' *regnum Christi*, reign of Christ, to be silent under the *regnum Antichristi*, it is not at all to be marvelled at; greater far had been the marvel, if they who slew the martyrs had owned in the least the martyrs' reign. Can any man, I pray you, rationally conceive Antichrist and his followers to be persons likely to own the reign of Christ and his followers? When all the world wondered after the beast, Rev. xiii. 3, 4 (*i. e.* the pope and his party, that beastly power and faction) and worshipped the beast, and cry him up as a non-such, saying, Who is like him? who is able to make war with him? as they did for one thousand two hundred and sixty years; which time, alas, is not yet out, as the sad face of Christendom at this day witnesses;—I say, then, for Christ's reign and kingdom to be decried, yea, almost thrust out of acknowledgment, who can

at all wonder? And yet for all this (so far is the opinion from novelty), this millennium hath been fully owned before; yea, and partly under the very reign of Antichrist. That it was generally owned before, besides what hath been already said, I have here (out of many instances which might easily be produced), only made choice of one more, because it bears so full witness to what I have in hand, that it may be *instar omnium*, instead of all others. That great Council of Nice called by Constantine the Great, besides their definition of faith, and canons ecclesiastical, set forth certain *διατυπώσεις ἐκκλησιαστικάι*, that is, forms of ecclesiastical doctrine: some of these are recorded by Gelasius Cyzicenus, in his *Historia Actorum Concilii Niceni*. Amongst these there is this *formula* for the doctrine of the state of the resurrection; the which (that I may do them no wrong) I shall here give in their own words: Μικρότερος ὁ κόσμος ἐγένετο διὰ τὴν πρόγνωσιν. προέγνω γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς ὅτι ἁμαρτήσῃ ὁ ἄνθρωπος. Διὰ τοῦτο καινοὶς οὐρανὸς καὶ καινὴν γῆν προσδοκῶμεν κατὰ τὰ ἱερὰ γράμματα, φαινομένης ἡμῖν τῆς ἐπιφανείας καὶ βασιλείας τοῦ μεγάλου Θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. καὶ τότε παραλήψονται, καδὰ φησι Δανιὴλ, τὴν βασιλείαν ἅγιοι ὑψίστου. καὶ ἔσται ἡ γῆ καθαρὰ, ἁγία, γῆ ζώντων καὶ οὐ νεκρῶν (ἦν προεωρακὼς Δαβὶδ τῷ τῆς πίστεως ὀφθαλμῷ βοᾷ, πιστεύω τοῦ ἰδεῖν τὰ ἀγαθὰ κυρίου ἐν γῇ ζώντων), γῆ πραέων καὶ ταπεινῶν. Μακάριοι γὰρ φησι οἱ πραεῖς, ὅτι αὐτοὶ κληρονομήσουσι τὴν γῆν. Καὶ ὁ προφῆτης, καὶ πατήσουσι αὐτὴν, φησὶ, πόδες πραέων καὶ ταπεινῶν. Which in English

(for that by most is best understood) runs thus : "The world is made worse by foreknowledge;* for God foresaw that man would sin. Therefore we expect new heavens and a new earth, according to the holy Scriptures, when the apparition and kingdom of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ shall shine forth. And then (as Daniel saith) shall the saints of the Most High take the kingdom. And there shall be a pure, holy land, a land of the living, and not of the dead (which David foreseeing by the eye of faith, cries, I believe to see the goodness of the Lord in the land of the living); a land of the meek and humble. For blessed, saith he [*i. e.* Christ], are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth. And the prophet, And the feet of the meek and humble shall tread it." Judge by this, notwithstanding fifty years' opposition, how powerful the Chiliastical party yet was, at the time of and in that council.

That this hath been owned, even under the reign of Antichrist, appears (amongst other instances that might be given) by that catechism set forth in King Edward's time, and by him authorised May 20, in the last year of his reign, where the two first petitions of the Lord's prayer are explicated in this manner. The dialogue is between the *Magister* and *Auditor*, upon these words, *Sanctificetur nomen tuum*. Auditor. *Secundo loco petimus, ut adveniat regnum ejus. Adhuc enim non videmus res omnes Christo esse subjectas: non videmus ut lapis de monte*

* By sin, the knowledge of good and evil.

abscissus sit sine opere humano, qui contrivit et in nihil redegit statuam descriptam à Daniele: ut petra sola, qui est Christus, occupet et obtineat totius mundi imperium à Patre concessum. Adhuc Antichristus non est occisus, quò fit, ut nos desideremus et precemur, ut id tandem aliquando contingat et impleatur: utque solus Christus regnet cum suis sanctis secundum divinas promissiones: utque vivat et dominetur in mundo juxta sancti evangelii decreta, non autem juxta traditiones et leges hominum et voluntatem tyrannorum mundi. M. Faxit Deus ut regnum ejus adveniat quam citissimè. That is, "in the second place we beg that his kingdom may come; for as yet we do not see all things to be subjected to Christ: we do not see that the stone is cut out of the mountain without hands, which bruise and brings to nothing the image described by Daniel; that the rock alone, which is Christ, may occupy and obtain the empire of the whole world, granted him by his Father. As yet Antichrist is not slain; whence it comes to pass, that we desire and pray that that once at last may happen and be fulfilled, that Christ alone may reign with his saints, according to his divine promises: and that he may live and govern in the world, according to the decrees of the holy Gospel, and not after the traditions and laws of men, and the will of the tyrants of the world. *M.* God grant that his kingdom may come very speedily." Thus far that. In the same catechism there are many other passages to the same purpose, by all which it appears (as I said before) that both before and under Antichrist

(where his yoke hath been but a little shaken off) this opinion hath been owned and believed: *ergo* is no novelty.

Quest. But lastly, some (it may be) will ask, When shall this glorious and spiritual reign of Christ with his saints on earth begin?

Ans. The beginning of this thousand years is not to be fetched from any strange or imaginary ground; or from the aptness of some other explication or accommodation of the place, Rev. xx. 4; but from the innate characters and circumstances in the text, plainly laid down, and to be gathered from the text and context. We therefore say, that these thousand years of Satan's binding, and the saints' reigning, must take their beginning from and after the destruction of the beast (*i. e.* the pope) in the second coming of Christ, which was last mentioned (Rev. xix. 20, 21).

1. The thousand years begins not till after the ceasing of the worship of the beast. For it is promised to all those (amongst others), as a reward, who had been faithful unto Christ in the time of that horrible apostacy, and had not worshipped the beast, or his image. But the worship of the beast ceased not till he himself ceased, as appears, Rev. xix. 20, 21. For as long as he was in place and power, there were always such (and those not a few) as did worship him, whose names were not written in the book of life (Rev. xiii. 8). Therefore their opinion is very weak, who hold that the beast, and his image, and his worshippers, are in whole, or part, within the thousand years; when the beginning and continuance of the thou-

sand years is promised to them that did not worship the beast nor receive his mark.

2. The thousand years do follow the thrones that were set for the saints' reign (ver. 4). But the thrones (as hath been already shewed) were to be set at the second coming of Christ, after the destruction of the great Antichrist, who being overcome, the saints may quietly reign.

3. The thousand years follows the dragon's deceiving the nations by Antichrist, which did not cease till Antichrist himself was destroyed; for it is expressly said (Rev. xx. 3) that he may not seduce the nations any more, viz. as he had seduced them during the time of his being and reigning in the world. For the words "no more" must needs relate to that deceiving mentioned in the words immediately preceding, which deception was the deceiving by Antichrist, as appears Rev. xix. 20. The beast, and false prophet which deceived them that received the mark of the beast, &c.

4. The thousand years begins from the binding of Satan, ver. 2, which binding is not partial and inchoate, as it was in the first coming of Christ, Matt. xii. 29, but comparatively total and perfect, which is not to be hoped for till the final destruction of Antichrist; for it is expressly said, ver. 3, "That the angel bound him and cast him into the bottomless pit, and shut him up, and set a seal upon him." Which words do evidently shew a full bondage, whereby he is so straitly bound, shut up, and kept in the bottomless pit, as in his prison,* that there is no possibility for him

* Which was at the sounding of the fifth trumpet.

to get out ; which yet is not fulfilled. For out of the bottomless pit, which then was open, not shut and sealed (chap. ix. 2), Satan brings forth smoke, and in the smoke locusts that darkened the very sun and air. And under the sixth trumpet ariseth that false light Mahomet (Rev. ix. 14, and so forward) ; and under the sixth vial three unclean spirits, like frogs, come out of the mouth of the dragon, beast, and false prophet, to seduce the kings and the nations of the earth, chap. xvi. 14. Thus far, therefore, Satan was not fully bound. He was indeed cast from heaven to earth, to rage both in the earth and sea, chap. xii. and chap. xiii. But now he is cast into the bottomless pit, chap. xx. 10, which is the days of the seventh and last trumpet, and not before.

5. These thousand years are the years of the peace and tranquillity, and of some kind of glory and triumph of the church upon earth, in order to which the devil is chained up, that the church might more peaceably, securely, and quietly reign. But no such certain and safe peace and prosperity, no such constant and lasting triumph of the church upon earth is to be expected till after the destruction of Antichrist, in the second coming of Christ, and the dragon be bound, and closely and surely imprisoned in the bottomless pit. For till then shall the cross and the persecutions of the saints continue : witness the words of our Saviour himself in relation to his second coming. Matt. x. 23 : " When they persecute you in this city, fly unto another : for verily I say unto you, ye shall not have gone over the cities

of Israel* till the Son of man be come." Which last words (*absolutè sic posita*) always signify the second coming of Christ. As if he should say, Do not hope to be free from the cross, and from persecution, until my second coming; for the spiritual, and, after a sort, heavenly kingdom of Israel, in grace, peace, and prosperity, promised you by the prophets, shall not be accomplished nor restored to you, but in my second coming.

6. Lastly, these thousand years do precede the final destruction of Satan; as the final destruction of Antichrist did precede and go before the thousand years, so Satan follows after. Apoc. xx. 10: "The devil is cast into the lake, where the beast and false prophet are," or (as Beza and others) "where the beast and false prophet was," viz. because the beast and false prophet long before were cast into the lake. Therefore these thousand years are the times of Christ's second coming, after the total and final destruction of Antichrist. For Christ is said to destroy or abolish him by the brightness of his coming. And (to me it is without doubt) John had respect to that coming, and received opinion among the Jews, in these thousand years he speaks of, Rev. xx., that the great day of judgment doth contain the thousand years in itself. And to this also Peter seems to have had respect, 2 Pet. iii.; where, making mention of the day of judgment, and perdition of ungodly men, he saith, ver. 8, "One day is with the Lord as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day." Which place Justin Mar-

* Non consummabitur civitates Israelis.

tyr, in his dialogue with Trypho the Jew, doth interpret of the day of judgment. The last hour, therefore, or the last day of Christ's second coming, denotes a certain long tract of time, and is indefinitely put for the last time, but not for one natural day, or hour, properly so called, as 'tis commonly thought. In Luke xvii. 22, the Lord Jesus himself, speaking of the day of his second coming: "Ye shall [saith he] desire to see one of the days of the Son of man." Which Beza rightly interprets of one of the days of his second coming; for in vain should they desire to see one of the days that were past, who did certainly expect them to come, which they thought also to be at hand; but they were deceived in that, and should not see them, that is, so soon as they expected them. In Acts iii. 20, 21, 24, Peter speaks of times of refreshing from the presence of the Lord, and the times of the restitution of all things, which God hath spoken by the mouth of all his holy prophets, &c. He doth not point at one day in Christ's second coming, but many; certainly so long as all things shall continue after they be restored, so long the day of judgment shall last; but all things shall be restored at the day of judgment, and continue in their being, after they are restored, longer than a day of twelve or twenty-four hours long. Surely for a man to say that Christ shall come from heaven at the day of judgment, when all things in the world shall be destroyed and have an end, is to fight against the Scripture,* which saith, all things at his coming shall be restored, and therefore not dissolved at

* Acts iii. 21; Rom. viii. 21.

that time. Or to say all things shall be restored at Christ's second coming, and be dissolved again by and by, is like the fancy of those heathens, who said, God made other worlds before this, but he did undo them as soon as he had made them, because they were not to his mind; and thus (say they) he spent his time, until he made this world that now is, which pleased him very well. Such a fancy they must needs have of God, who think all things shall be restored at Christ's second coming, and dissolved again by and by. Without doubt, as when God made the world at first, he did not make it to destroy it presently, but to continue for some length of time, for man to live in it to his glory and his praise; so when God shall restore the world at the great day of judgment, he will not presently dissolve it, but have it to continue some length of time, that Christ and the saints may reign in it to his glory. Again, John in the Revelation, speaking of the seventh trumpet, which is the last trumpet, and the trumpet (I mean of the judicial trumpets) of consummation, and so the trumpet of Christ's second coming, he attributes many days to it. In the days of the seventh trumpet, the mystery of God shall be finished, as he spake by his servants the prophets, Rev. x. 7. Isaiah calls the second coming of Christ the year of recompenses, Isaiah xxxiv. ver. 8. It is such a day, that in the same breath it swells into a year. For it is the day (saith he) of the Lord's vengeance, and the year of recompenses for the controversy of Zion. Yea, this day, in Isaiah lix. 21, swells at the least into three generations; and, lest that should be too

little, into a "for ever." "For [saith he] my words shall not depart out of thy mouth, nor out of the mouth of thy seed, or seed's seed, from henceforth even for ever." And it is apparent this is spoken of Christ's second coming, both from the text and context; and Paul (Rom. xi. 26) so applies the same.*

The same prophet tells us yet of a longer time, Isaiah lxxv. 17: "For [saith he] the days of my people [ver. 22] shall be as the days of a tree, and mine elect shall long enjoy the works of their hands." Pliny tells us that the life of an oak is nine hundred years, more or less, which comes very near John's thousand years. The words in the Hebrew are "the wood of life;" but the Septuagint renders it "the tree of life," with which also agrees the Chaldee paraphrast. In which words, saith Justin Martyr, we may understand the thousand years to be secretly pointed at. It was the conceit of the same Justin Martyr (and not altogether to be slighted) that the life of the tree of life, or of man in the state of paradise, was to consist of a thousand years; that is to say, that so long man, had he not sinned, should have lived in this world, and afterwards have been translated into a more happy both place and condition. But Adam having sinned, by eating the forbidden fruit, therefore neither himself nor any of his posterity (though some of them very long lived) should attain to that number of years, but should die before they had any of them lived out so great a day. But when all things shall be re-

* By which we may judge how to apply all those glorious texts which seem yet to be unfulfilled.

stored, that long-lived day shall be restored to the sons of the first resurrection, and they shall live one thousand years. So the prophet Zechariah, speaking of the day of Christ's second coming, chap. xiv. 9, saith: "The Lord shall be king over all the earth; and in that day there shall be one Lord, and his name one." And adds, ver. 16, "they shall go up from year to year, to worship the King, the Lord of hosts, and to keep the feast of tabernacles;" which is an allusion to those old Jewish rites, and betokens only their serving God; of which see Rev. vii. 14, 15, where those palm-bearing triumphers are said to serve God day and night in his temple. Lastly, Christ tells us of a certain world to come, in which sins may be forgiven (Matt. xii. 32); not to the sons of the resurrection, who are without all sin, but to those who are of the nations that are saved, and walk in the light of the new Jerusalem (Rev. xxi. 24); who yet sinning, and repenting of their sins, obtain remission in Christ's blood.

THE PRIVILEGES OF THAT TIME.

And now, good reader, hark a little to the peculiar privileges of that day and time; yet, for brevity's sake, take them almost in so many words.

I. In the time of this thousand years there will be an end for ever of the beast and false prophet. O happy riddance to the world! for what good did they ever do; nay, what evil did they not? Farewell, thou whore of Babylon (Rev. xviii. 3), who didst inebriate the nations and their kings

with the wine of the wrath of thy fornications. Thy judgments are come in a day (Rev. xviii. 8),—death, and mourning, and famine; for strong is the Lord God that judgeth thee. Rejoice (Rev. xviii. 20) over her, thou heaven (church), and ye holy apostles and prophets; for God hath avenged you at her hand. That wicked horn (Dan. vii. 21) is broken off, who warred against, and wore out the saints; the multitude of thy offences now at last hath broken the multitude of thy forces, and thou canst not call back the day that is past. Thy two horns, indeed, made the world to take thee for a lamb (Rev. xiii. 11), but thy speech against the saints was always like a dragon. Therefore full well art thou cast into (Rev. xix. 20) the lake of fire, for ever, as thine own dung, to perish, though thy branches shot up to heaven, and thy roots down as low as hell; yet the saints now do reign, and rejoice in thy ruin.

II. Satan also is (Rev. xx. 2) now chained up and imprisoned in the pit. That (1 Pet. v. 8) roaring lion, who went about seeking by what means or whom he might devour. O happy time, when lions lie in chains, and the dragon's dwelling is in the deep!

III. Moreover, now there is a perfect and complete end of all godless governors, who did always oppress, disquiet, and vex the church and spouse of Christ. God then (Rev. xi. 18) destroys all those that destroy the earth. Yea, then and in that day shall our Lord Jesus Christ, the Lamb and the Lion of the tribe of Judah, the Spouse and Husband of his church, the Lord of lords, and King of kings, who at the first went out

conquering and to conquer, who did beforehand signify all these things to his servants by his angel, take to himself his great power and reign; and let the nations be as angry as they will or can, yet, in despite of all their fury, he shall give rewards unto his servants the prophets, and to his saints, and to them that fear his name, both small and great. Then (Rev. xix. 6) shall the Lord God omnipotent reign, with the shoutings and hallelujahs of his elect. Yea, the saints shall sit on thrones (1 Cor. vi. 2; Dan. vii. 21, 27; Matt. xix. 28) and judge the world. This will may stain the beauty and dazzle the glory of all earthly powers. For then (Isa. xxiv. 23) the moon shall be confounded, and the sun ashamed, when the Lord of hosts shall reign in Mount Zion, and in Jerusalem, and before his ancients gloriously. Then shall righteousness run up and down, and be as a mighty stream.

IV. Moreover, then will be a lasting peace, and wars shall cease to the ends of the earth, when Christ, the Prince of peace, shall sway the sceptre, judging amongst many nations, and rebuking many people. Then shall their swords be beaten into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, nor shall they learn war any more, Isa. ii. 4. "In that day [saith God] (Hos. ii. 18) I will break the bow, and the sword, and the battle-axe out of the earth, and I will make them to lie down safely." Peace before had been full oft desired, but it will be then completely attained.

V. Also then will all persecution be brought to an end and cease. Then the envy of Ephraim

shall depart, and the adversaries of Judah shall be cut off; Ephraim shall not envy Judah, and Judah shall not vex Ephraim, Isa. xi. 13. Ezek. xxviii. 24: And there shall be no more a pricking brier unto the house of Israel, nor any grieving thorn of all that are round about them, that despised them. See also Ezek. xxviii. 25 and 26. Then Christ weeds out of his kingdom all things that offend, and them that do iniquity. For it is a righteous thing with him to render tribulation to them that trouble his church, and to them that are troubled rest, 2 Thess. i. 7.

VI. Then likewise will be an end of all oppression. For who is left to oppress? The beast and false prophet they are gone, the dragon is bound, all wicked men are now under the hatches, and laid at Christ's footstool. Violence shall no more be heard in her land, wasting nor destruction within her borders, Isa. liv. 14. Ezek. xlv. 8: My princes shall no more oppress my people; they shall be far from oppression. The new heavens and new earth is a place wherein dwells righteousness. Psa. lxxii. 2: He shall judge the people with righteousness, and the poor with judgment; ver. 4: He shall judge the poor of the people, he shall save the children of the needy, and shall break in pieces the oppressor.

VII. At that day also, and in that time, there shall not be any that shall hurt or harm; one beast shall no more hurt another, nor one man his fellow. "For (Isa. xi. 6, 7, 8, 9) the wolf shall also dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid: and the calf, and the young lion, and the fatling together, and a

little child shall lead them. And the cow and the bear shall feed, their young ones shall lie down together, and the lion shall eat straw like the ox. And the sucking child shall play on the hole of the asp; and the weaned child shall put his hand on the cockatrice' den. They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain." Understand we this of men or beasts,—and neither shall be hurtful or offensive each to other, but great agreement will be among them. And this some understand to be the meaning of the apostle, Rom. viii. 19, 20, 21; in which words these four following things seem to be observable, viz.

1. That now the creature is under the bondage of corruption; that is, prone and apt to devour, destroy, and make a prey one of another.

2. That the creature hereafter shall be delivered from that bondage; that is, they shall not (as heretofore) hurt and destroy one another.

3. That there shall be a time when the sons of God shall have a glorious liberty; that is, they shall not hurt one another, nor receive hurt from any.

4. That the creatures in their kind shall partake of their liberty, and they shall not be hurtful one to another, but live in peace and quietness.

VIII. Moreover, then shall be an end of fear, terror, and dread. For they shall no more be a prey to the heathen, neither shall the beast of the land devour them; but they shall dwell safely, and none shall make them afraid. Isa. liv. 14: "In righteousness [saith the prophet] shalt thou be established; thou shalt be far from oppres-

sion, for thou shalt not fear: and from terror, for it shall not come near thee." Jer. xxx. 10: "Therefore fear thou not, O my servant Jacob, saith the Lord, neither be dismayed, O Israel; for, lo, I will save thee from afar, and thy seed from the land of their captivity; and Jacob shall return, and be in rest, and be quiet, and none shall make him afraid."

IX. Lastly, this will be a time of such purity and holiness, of the fear of the Lord and righteousness, as never was nor will be till that time. This will make it to be *millennium aureum* or *aureum seculum*. It will be a golden day and age, indeed, for the holy city, the New Jerusalem: that city of gold and pearl, mentioned Rev. xxi. doth contemporate and synchronise with the thousand years, as might be abundantly proved, if Reverend Mede had not done it to my hand, so that it would but be *acta agere*, which I intend not. This will be that time of truth without mixtures of error, a time of light without mixture of darkness, a time of knowledge without mixture of ignorance, from whence all heresy doth proceed. The light of the moon shall be as the sun, and the light of the sun shall be sevenfold, as the light of seven days. The ordinances also will then be pure, without mixtures of superstition, human inventions, and will-worship. There are those rivers of water of life, clear as crystal. Great also will be the holiness of that day (Zech. xiv. 9; Rev. xxii. 1; Isa. ii. 2); "for it shall come to pass in the last days, that the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted

above the hills, and all nations shall flow unto it. And many people shall go and say, Come ye, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob, and he will teach us of his ways, and we will walk in his paths; for out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem." See also Zech. viii. 19, 20, 21, 22. The streets of the city are all gold, and golden will be the lives and conversations of the citizens; yea, God shall be known in her palaces for a refuge; the foundations of her city are all of pearl; her streets paved with precious stones; her gardens fragrant with all manner of pleasant flowers; her delightful walks are always green; her springs are living waters; her months are one continued May; her trees bear all manner of lovely fruits, and the leaves of the same are for the healing of the nations; her years are one lasting joyful jubilee, and her strength is always firm; her lame men leap as harts, and the tongue of dumb men then are loosed. O when shall we go, how shall we get to this holy and beautiful city of God? Her time is coming, her year is at hand, and the Lord will hasten it in his time. Reader, thou hast here a little taste of the beginning of Zion's bliss held forth unto thee, only according unto our weak and short manner of conceiving and expressing: the things themselves as far surmount our thoughts and words as the heavens are above the earth, and as the east is distant from the west.

THE USE OF THE DOCTRINE.

Give me now leave to put a period to all in a word or two of application.

Use 1. Let us help forward this kingdom of Christ on earth by faith and prayer ; and so much the rather, because the time approacheth, the promises are even come to the birth, and they draw on apace. Pray we, therefore, for the ruin of Antichrist (Rome must down before Christ will set up his kingdom), and for the calling of the Jews — for the beginning of this kingdom must be with the Jews ; they must be *caput imperii*, the head and seat of this empire must be among them. And let us pray according to Christ's direction, "Thy kingdom come, and thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven;" which will never be till these thousand years. "Let [as saith David] all nations serve thee, O God ; let all people praise thee." O pray that God would take to himself his great power, and reign before the ancients gloriously.

Use 2. This may inform us that the day of judgment is not so far off as many think it. For if once Antichrist's kingdom go down, Christ's kingdom is set up, as we have before heard ; and certainly Antichrist's twelve hundred and sixty days of reigning are not long to continue ; though we cannot tell justly how long, yet in the general we know it cannot be long ; and Christ's kingdom is *durante et currente die judicii*, within and during the great day of judgment.

Use 3. This doctrine speaks comfort to you, O ye sons of Zion and daughters of Jerusalem !

O thou wife and spouse of Christ, thou art she who hast seen and dost see affliction; yea, from thy youth up thou hast been slain, and killed all the day long; the furrows have been made long upon thy back, and thou hast been emptied from vessel to vessel; thy flesh hath had no rest, but troubles are on every side; without are fightings, within are fears; thou hast been covered as with a cloud, and art for a byword and hissing to passers-by: yea, accounted as the offscouring of all things unto this day. But be of good cheer, yea, awake and sing, thou that dwellest in the dust; for thus saith the Lord God, O thou afflicted, and tossed with tempest, and not comforted; behold, I will lay thy stones with fair colours, and lay thy foundations with sapphire, and make thy windows of agates, and gates of carbuncle, and borders of pleasant stones. For thy Maker is thy husband, the Lord of Hosts is his name, and thy Redeemer, the Holy One of Israel, the God of the whole earth shall he be called. Wherefore lift up thy head, for thy redemption draws nigh, and the years of thy deliverance are now at hand. O wait and pray, and bear up yet a little, a very little while, and thy work shall be rewarded, and the wicked train shall be no more, but the meek shall inherit the earth, and delight themselves in a very great abundance of peace; do but fight stoutly through the pikes, and win the field; put forth thy strength, and spare no pains, no cost, no sweat, no blood. O cast about a careful eye, use all holy policy, rally up thy force afresh; it wants but a little, and all is thine own, and then thou art made for

ever. Obtain, and wear the crown; suffer, and thou shalt doubtless reign; it is thy Father's good pleasure to give thee the kingdom. Thy Husband, who hath washed thee in his blood, and made thee clean and spotless; behold, he comes quickly, and his reward is with him. Arise, O Lord, and let thine enemies be scattered, and those that hate thee flee before thee. Lay Babylon in the dust, and let her virgins be cut off. O wound the hairy scalp of all thine incurable foes. Let Zion be exalted, and Jerusalem make a praise in the midst of the earth; preserve thy spouse in the midst of lions, strengthen her faith, lengthen her patience, hasten thy coming. O be as a roe or young hart upon the mountains of spices. Amen.

THE END.

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